

House Calendar No. 1

105TH CONGRESS } <i>1st Session</i>	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	{ REPORT 105-1
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IN THE MATTER OF REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH--
pages 501 to 600

We do not have to convince people that the bureaucracy is arrogant, wasteful and obsolete. Every day they encounter the growing gap between public and private goods and services.

Being negative, focusing on the failure, and opposing the welfare state's newest bad ideas is in the end a dangerous activity trap. If we are simply the anti-welfare state effort we will fail to arouse the American people.

The challenge to us is to be positive, to be specific, to be intellectually serious, and to be able to communicate in clear language a clear vision of the American people and why it is possible to create that America in our generation.

Once the American people understand what they can have they will insist that their politicians abolish the welfare state which is crippling them, their children, and their country and that they replace it with an opportunity society based on historically proven principles that we see working all around us.

In the end the people are sovereign. It is their country and when informed and aroused they cannot be stopped.

Across the planet. From Mexico to Italy, Russia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Ukraine, Romania-again and again popular pressure is forcing real change in obsolete governments.

Now it is the American people's turn to replace a destructive obsolete system so they can begin to create an America that is safe, prosperous and free.

To implement our vision of renewing America by informing and arousing the American people so they insist on replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society we must:

1. Create a clear vision of a renewed America, outline the principles that make it possible to renew America by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society. Communicate the dramatic improvement in all phases of life for virtually all Americans that will then become possible;
2. Communicate that vision in everyday language so all Americans can understand what is at stake and what they can do to improve their lives;
3. Communicate the vision in specialized media as applied to

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5. Recruit grass root organizations so they explicitly work to renew America;

7. Educate the news media (including talk radio hosts) into the concepts of renewing America, applying the 5 pillars, and replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society and wherever possible recruit these as active allies;

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Exhibit 52

10. Collect success stories and build a network of those who are succeeding and those who want to succeed. The successful will be strengthened and enhanced while the aspiring will be educated, reinforced and empowered. When enough activists and innovators have been networked together there will be a genuine movement committed to and actually engaged in renewing America;

12. Whenever possible force votes on the House and Senate floors in Committees and subcommittees on replacing the welfare state;

13. Encourage people to run for office committed to renewing America and replacing the welfare state and arouse volunteers, contributors and voters to elect committed candidates and to help them implement the renewal;

DRAFT
Renewing American Civilization
Our Goal

In order to have a healthy, prosperous and safe America we must replace the welfare state. Replacing the welfare state is a moral and national imperative because:

1. It is impossible to maintain civilization with twelve year olds having babies, fifteen year olds killing each other, seventeen year olds dying of aids, and eighteen year olds getting diplomas they can't read.

2. The welfare state has simply failed. This is not a debatable point. Watch any three nights of local television news in any American big city. If that isn't a portrait of failure it is hard to imagine what would be.

3. The welfare state must be replaced because it cannot be repaired. The problems of the welfare state start with its core design. Bureaucracies replacing markets, citizens being reduced to clients, rules that undermine the work ethic and the family and prohibitions against acquiring property all undermine the human characteristics which the founding fathers believed were the essence of a healthy society.

Our overall goal is to develop a blueprint for renewing

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Exhibit 52

America by replacing the welfare state, recruit, discover, arouse and network together 200,000 activists including candidates for elected office at all levels, and arouse enough volunteers and contributors to win a sweeping victory in 1996 and then actually implement our victory in the first three months of 1997.

Our specific goals are to:

1. By April 1996 have a thorough, practical blueprint for replacing the welfare state that can be understood and supported by voters and activists.

We will teach a course on Renewing American civilization on ten Saturday mornings this fall and make it available by satellite, by audio and video tape and by computer to interested activists across the country. A month will then be spent redesigning the course based on feedback and better ideas. Then the course will be retaught in Winter Quarter 1994. It will then be rethought and redesigned for nine months of critical re-evaluation based on active working groups actually applying ideas across the country the course will be taught for one final time in Winter Quarter 1996.

2. Have created a movement and momentum which require the national press corps to actually study the material in order to report the phenomenon thus infecting them with new ideas, new language and new perspectives.

3. Have a cadre of at least 200,000 people committed to the general ideas so they are creating an echo effect on talk radio and in letters to the editor and most of our candidates and campaigns reflect the concepts of renewing America.

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Replacing the welfare state will require about 200,000 activists (willing to learn now to replace the welfare state, to run for office and to actually replace the welfare state once in office) and about six million active supporters (willing to write checks, put up yard signs, or do a half day's volunteer work). America is simply too big a country for even a very strong President or even a President and Congress to decisively replace the welfare state. In America local school boards, hospital boards, voluntary associations, city councils, county commissions, elected judges, state legislatures, Governors and statewide elected officials as well as key civil servants, Congress and the President all have to be involved if America is to change.

By electing a team committed to renewing America with a blueprint clearly understood by the activists, the supporters and the public it will be possible to move immediately and decisively. By creating a blueprint and a movement from the precinct to the Presidency it will be possible to replace the welfare state at all levels simultaneously.

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Exhibit 52

EXHIBIT 53

GOPAC2
2337

May 18, 1993

Dear Tucker,

It's going to be good to see you this weekend.

Kelley Goodsell should already have faxed you a general agenda for the meeting. The enclosed materials provide some background for our discussions, which I expect will begin with a review of the Vision, Strategies and Goals of our efforts to Renew American Civilization. The class Newt is teaching at Kennesaw State College this Fall is central to that effort, and GOPAC and the newly created Progress & Freedom Foundation both play important roles as well.

I cannot overemphasize the importance Newt attaches to these meetings, or how much he is looking forward to seeing you.

With best regards,

Mr. K. Tucker Andersen
Cumberland Associates
1114 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10036

P.S. I enclosed the Wanniski piece with the materials sent to this weekend's attendees. Thanks for passing it along.

Exhibit 53

EXHIBIT 54

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18361

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

CLASS 2

September 25, 1993

Transcript of broadcast reported by Heidi (Thomas, Certified Court Reporter, in Atlanta, Georgia, on the 25th day of September 1993, commencing at the hour of 8:30 a.m.

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Exhibit 54

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1 SHE WILL BE HERE AS ONE OF THE PEOPLE HELPING. CARL
2 LADD, WHO IS IN THE BOOK OF READINGS, WILL BE HERE.
3 AS YOU REMEMBER, WE'RE USING "READINGS IN RENEWING
4 AMERICAN CIVILIZATION" AS OUR BACKGROUND BOOK, AND A
5 NUMBER OF THOSE FOLKS WILL BE HERE ON DECEMBER THE
6 4TH TALKING ABOUT HOW TO REWRITE THE CLASS.

7 LET ME WALK YOU THROUGH FOR A COUPLE OF MINUTES
8 WHAT THE COURSE IS ABOUT. I'M GOING TO DO THIS
9 QUICKLY PARTLY AS AN INTRODUCTION FOR THOSE OF YOU
10 WHO WERE NOT HERE LAST WEEK. WE'LL DO THIS FOR
11 ABOUT FOUR MINUTES EVERY WEEK, BECAUSE THERE IS A
12 CONSTRUCT TO THE WHOLE COURSE. THE CENTRAL
13 PROPOSITION: THERE IS AN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.
14 IT IS DIVERSE AND MULTIETHNIC, BUT IS, IN FACT, ONE
15 CIVILIZATION. THAT'S VERY MUCH AT THE HEART OF THE
16 COURSE, AND AS YOU'LL SEE AT THE SCREEN, WE'LL PUT
17 THESE THINGS UP AGAIN EVERY WEEK AND NOT TALK ABOUT
18 THEM MUCH. THOSE OF YOU WHO DON'T GET IT, IF YOU
19 DIDN'T SEE THE FIRST LECTURES, GO BACK AND TAKE THE
20 TWO-HOUR TAPE AND REVIEW IT.

21 THERE ARE THREE ADDITIONAL PROPOSITIONS AT THE
22 HEART OF THE COURSE. FIRST, THAT AMERICAN
23 CIVILIZATION CANNOT SURVIVE WITH 12-YEAR-OLDS HAVING
24 BABIES, 15-YEAR-OLDS SHOOTING ONE ANOTHER,
25 17-YEAR-OLDS DYING OF AIDS, AND 18-YEAR-OLDS
26 GRADUATING WITH DIPLOMAS THEY CANNOT READ. AND I'VE
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Exhibit 54

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5

1 YET TO BE CHALLENGED ON THAT ONE. SECOND, THE
2 WELFARE STATE HAS FAILED. I'M GOING TO COME BACK TO
3 THAT SECOND ONE, BECAUSE IT'S A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO
4 TALK ABOUT IT. THE WELFARE STATE HAS FAILED. AND,
5 THIRD, YOUR GENERATION MUST REPLACE NOT REPAIR THE
6 WELFARE STATE.

7 REMEMBER, I TALKED ABOUT THE NOTION THAT WE ARE
8 GOING TO TRY TO SET UP OVER THE COURSE OF TEACHING
9 THE COURSE. FOR FOUR YEARS, WE'LL TRY TO LOOK AT A
10 ROAD MAP INTELLECTUALLY FOR REPLACING THE WELFARE
11 STATE. WHAT WOULD WORK? WE'LL START DEVELOPING
12 THAT ROAD MAP WITH THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN
13 CIVILIZATION: PERSONAL STRENGTH, ENTREPRENEURIAL
14 FREE ENTERPRISE, THE SPIRIT OF INVENTION AND
15 DISCOVERY, QUALITY AS DESCRIBED BY DEMING, AND THE
16 LESSONS OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

17 NOW, THOSE FIVE PRINCIPLES WE'RE GOING TO ARGUE
18 ARE AT THE CENTER OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, AND THEY
19 WORK TOGETHER. IT'S NOT, "LET'S DO FOUR OUT OF
20 FIVE." BUT THE WAY THE FIVE ARE WOVEN TOGETHER IN
21 AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, THE WAY THE RIBBON, THE
22 FABRIC, THE ESSENCE OF THE CIVILIZATION WORKS, THOSE
23 FIVE HELP EXPLAIN WHY WE'RE AMERICANS. AND THEN
24 WE'LL APPLY THOSE PRINCIPLES TO FOUR AREA WHICH I
25 WOULD LIKE US TO FOCUS ON AND WHICH I INTEND TO
26 SPEND THE NEXT FOUR YEARS TRYING TO DEVELOP POSITIVE
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Exhibit 54

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6

1 PLANS: ECONOMIC GROWTH AND JOB CREATION. HEALTH,
2 SAVING THE INNER CITIES, AND CITIZENSHIP FOR THE
3 21ST CENTURY.

4 NOW, I THINK AT THE END OF THE 10 WEEKS WE WILL
5 HAVE A BEGINNING. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THIS AGAIN:
6 THIS IS A BEGINNING. I'M NOT SUGGESTING THAT I HAVE
7 THE ANSWERS OR THIS CLASS HAS THE ANSWERS, THAT ANY
8 ONE PERSON HAS THE ANSWERS. I'M SUGGESTING THAT BY
9 STARTING THE DIALOGUE, THAT OVER A THREE-YEAR
10 PROCESS, WE CAN TOGETHER CREATE A REASONABLE FIRST
11 APPROXIMATION. THIS IS A WORK OF MANY YEARS.

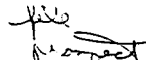
12 YOU DON'T TAKE A CIVILIZATION OUR SIZE AND
13 COMPLEXITY AND DRAW A NEAT DIAGRAM ON THE BLACKBOARD
14 AND THAT'S IT. YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE A LOT OF PEOPLE
15 FROM A LOT OF BACKGROUNDS WITH A LOT OF IDEAS AND A
16 LOT OF EXPERIENCES TESTING THINGS OUT, CHANGING
17 THEM, REAPPROACHING THEM, AND A CONSTANT PROCESS OF
18 RE-EVALUATION. I WANT YOU TO FEEL VERY FREE TO BE
19 OPEN AND TO HAVE IDEAS.

20 AS YOU KNOW, WE HAD SEVERAL SESSIONS LAST WEEK
21 HERE THAT WERE QUESTION-ANSWER. WE'LL DO THAT AGAIN
22 TODAY. YOU HAD SEVERAL HOURS' OPPORTUNITY AFTER
23 THAT LAST WEEK TO MEET WITH PROFESSOR MESCON, WHO IS
24 OUT TODAY BECAUSE OF THE JEWISH HOLIDAYS, BUT WHO
25 WILL BE BACK NEXT WEEK. I'M DELIGHTED WE HAVE HIS
26 ASSOCIATES HERE WHO WERE ALREADY AT 7:45 INSTRUCTING
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Exhibit 54

EXHIBIT 55

0912



Newt Gingrich

GOPAC2
2419General Chairman
GOPAC

June 23, 1993

Dear Ron,

It was a pleasant surprise running into you last night -- another item for the "small world" department.

There are a couple of things I'm involved in that you should be aware of, and I've enclosed materials on both.

First, I am teaching a class this Fall (and in 1994, 1995 and 1996) on "Renewing American Civilization," which will be made available nationally both by satellite and video tape. The class has three goals: Produce a blueprint for replacing the Welfare State; train 200,000 or more activists in the language and ideas; and, make enough of an impact that the national media has to pay attention and, in at least a few cases, learn something.

Sometime in the next few weeks, I'd like to talk with you about getting involved, in particular in helping us think through the sections of the class on Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise and its relationship to privatization. (Your report on Privatization for New York is perhaps the best single work in the field.)

Secondly, Jeff Eisenach, who has been my leading intellectual advisor for nearly five years, is establishing a think tank, The Progress & Freedom Foundation, which will work on many of these same ideas. At some point, I hope you will take a few minutes to sit down with him and learn more about what he is doing -- and, if you approve, consider helping him get it off the ground.

We'll be back in touch on both items. In the meantime, hope all is going well on the many good projects with which I understand you are involved.

Your friend,



Ambassador Ronald Lauder
767 Fifth Avenue
Suite 4200
New York, New York 10153

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EXHIBIT 56GOPAC
0945GOPAC2
2146Renewing American Civilization

I'm Congressman Newt Gingrich, Congressman from the 6th District of Georgia, the House Republican Whip, and General Chairman of GOPAC. What you are about to see is a training tape on renewing American civilization by replacing the welfare state. I think you will find it a very useful introduction to where we are as a country, what we have to do as citizens and how we can renew our country to create for our children a better, a safer and a more prosperous future.

What I first want to suggest to you my personal belief that we are engaged in a great moral and practical effort, that we are committed to renewing American civilization, and I believe that's our battle cry. That we want to be the party and the movement that renews American civilization and that renewing American civilization is both an idealistic cause and a practical cause at the same time.

You know, yesterday I had the opportunity to be at the swearing in ceremony of 238 new citizens from 57 different countries. That was a remarkable moment. Every color in the human race, every religion, 50 something languages. And yet sitting in that room they had one common dream: that at the end of that ceremony they would be Americans. And much more than many native born Americans, they had a passionate sense of what that meant. They wanted the economic opportunity.

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They wanted for their children the security of an American passport, the knowledge that as Paul said, "I am a citizen of Rome." That their children could say, "I am a citizen of the United States." The sense of belonging to something which they literally -- you could see tears in people's eyes. It meant that much to them.

And the challenge to us it seems to me is how do we keep the magic for our children and for the world of what America has meant. How do we in our generation renew and revitalize this most remarkable, most unique nation, what Jefferson called the last best hope of mankind?

And I believe that if you remember Ronald Reagan when he described once the shining city on a hill that we our generation should gather together and I think he started and worked very hard to create that shining city and he moved us a long step down the road towards that shining city. We didn't get there, but we certainly created a better America, a more prosperous America, and a safer America than it had been before Reagan was elected. That was the idealistic side, and yet I want to suggest to you also there is a very practical, very realistic side that we don't talk directly enough about.

Less than a half mile from where I live a high school senior was shot in a hamburger place -- it happened to be a

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Renewing American Civilization, Page 3

Hardee's -- while working on a Sunday evening. He was a young man he had never met, walked in, wanted the money and shot him for no good reason. My house has been burglarized. One of my staff had their car stolen three weeks ago. Two of my staff have had their cars vandalized. All of you have similar awarenesses of the drug culture, of violence, of the dangers, and I want to suggest to you that the most practical thing you can do is renew American civilization so your family is safe. Everyone here is worried about take home pay. The most practical think you can do to protect your family wallet is to do everything you can to renew American civilization to keep taxes down. We worry about our children and grandchildren getting a decent education, and I would argue the most practical thing we can do is renew American civilization to make sure that our children and grandchildren get the right kind of education to live in the right kind of world.

All of you if you are at all like me get fed up with the bureaucracy, with the standards, with the frustration, with the length of time it takes. And I would argue that the simple fact is that we live in a time when the most practical is also the most idealistic. When the very changes you most want in your neighborhood, in your city, in your county are also the changes we need for the whole country. And that in

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fact we're at the end of an era, that the welfare state has failed and that we are in the business of inventing a new era, that our movement in renewing American civilization is a movement to create a new time in America. And I have four propositions for you, and I want you to feel very free to check these out back home. I think you're going to find that if you walk any coffee or any audience or any civic club or any class you're in through these four propositions that you're going to get somewhere between 80 and 95 percent agreement.

First, there is an American civilization and I think it is a very important concept. We are the successors to western civilization. The western civilization was European. It was caucasian. It is a small, semi-continent. It is backward oriented. You have kings and dukes and princes. It has a class structure. But the American civilization is very different. Starting with Jamestown and then with the pilgrims and the whole process of the rise of modern America that American civilization is multi-ethnic but it is not multi-cultural. That as we come from all sorts of backgrounds but we do not in fact have any sense of, you know, I don't think of Colin Powell as being different than me. He happens to be black and his parents were West Indian, but I am very proud that he is Chairman of the Joint Chiefs

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and I think he is a terrific Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and he is an American. I didn't think of Lew Sullivan who happened to be black and his parents were from south Georgia as different than me. He is a great medical doctor, a great researcher, was a good head of Health and Human Services. Henry Cisneros, who I may disagree with in his support of Bill Clinton, in my mind happens to be in part Mexican-American was the mayor of San Antonio, but he's an American. And it's a very important concept.

We represent everybody in America who believe America is multi-ethnic, but as Theodore Roosevelt said, there are no hyphenated Americans. This is not a new debate. There are Americans of many descents. And that American civilization because it is a civilization has a very important set of rules and principles that have to be learned.

Now, the second point I'd make here is what I call the four can'ts. I just use that as a way of remembering. But I think if you test out this paragraph or this long sentence, you will find that it is devastatingly effective and frighteningly true. It is very simple. You cannot maintain civilization with 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds shooting each other, 17 year olds dying of AIDS, and 18 year olds getting a diploma they can't read.

Now, I'm going to repeat it but I will just tell you, I

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have said this now for six months and every audience I say it to nods yes and understands. And they understand both that it is true and that it is a frighteningly accurate description of a large part of America. So let me just repeat it. You cannot maintain civilization with 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds shooting each other, 17 year olds dying of AIDS, and 18 year olds getting a diploma they can't read.

And I stop audiences and say, now, if you disagree with that and you think can maintain a civilization with those things going on, the rest of what I'm going to say is irrelevant. You're not us. I don't want to waste your time. But I've yet to have anybody get up and walk out. I haven't even had some liberal raise their hand and say, hey, that's not accurate.

Now, my third proposition -- remember, one, we're an American civilization. Two, you can't maintain civilization with those things happening. My third proposition is the welfare state has failed. Now, Barry Goldwater took 40 minutes to explain that sentence. Ronald Reagan took about 20 minutes to explain that sentence. I simply say to folks, we're not going to debate this. Anyone in this room who does not think the welfare state has failed go to any major city in America and watch the local television news for three

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nights. If that isn't the face of failure, write me a letter explaining what it would look like.

In Washington, D.C., in the length of time it took for three Americans to be killed in Somalia there were 48 Americans killed in our national capitol. Now, when you lose 48 Americans in the District of Columbia during the period that you're losing three Americans in a combat zone, there is something sick of the very core of the system. And so I just assert it. The welfare state has failed.

Now, if you don't agree with that, if you think the welfare state is really doing terrific, it needs a few more bucks to really get up and running right, that New York City is the future but it just needs slightly better organization, the rest I'm going to say you don't need to listen to. Now, I realize I lose some of the employee union organizers and about nine academics and three professional Democrats, but again as you walk through this list you don't lose a lot.

Now, my fourth proposition -- remember, one, there is an American civilization. Two, you can't maintain civilization with these characteristics going on. Three, the welfare state has failed. My fourth proposition. Therefore, we are in the business of replacing the welfare state, not repairing it. To renew American civilization you must replace the welfare state. Now, it is very important for two very big

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reasons. The first is if you think you're in the business of repairing something, you accept its current structure and say, alright, I'll stipulate it really ought to be sort of like this, but let me do two little things better. You know, a better New York City would have IBMs rather than the current card, the current paperwork, or it would have nicer people at the front desk. I'm saying the opposite. Erase your assumption of the current structure of the welfare. Now, let's build a new system. Let's replace that.

Second, I'm asserting that the core values of the welfare state are wrong about the way human beings function. You cannot reduce a citizen to a client, establish a set of rules that are anti-family, anti-work, anti-property, anti-acquiring, anti-opportunity and subject a human being to the petty regulations and red tape of a petty bureaucrat without having tremendously destructive impact on that person. And I would argue that the pathologies in the inner city and the pathologies we see in West Virginia are in fact the direct result of the welfare state and not a sign that the welfare state hasn't quite done enough. We can't stand for it to do any more. Therefore, we are now liberated to having to try to solve their problem on their terms in their system, and we're now going to come over here and we're going to build a replacement.

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So, if you take the notion, I'm now going to take you a big jump, that if you go out in your community and try out those four propositions: We're about America and an American civilization. You can't maintain it with 12 year olds having babies, etc. The welfare state has failed. And we want to replace the welfare state. My guess is you're going to find between 70 and 80 percent agree with you if you walk them through this at a coffee or you talk to them.

Now, challenge -- we're going to do two big challenges today. Challenge number one is everyone -- now, I want to repeat -- everyone who agrees with us is us. Now, this is very scary to a lot of Republicans because a lot of Republicans say, but so many of them are new. I mean, why are they here? Or they're different. I mean you're going to find presently -- I'm going to give you some numbers in a few minutes. This is going to mean a lot of blacks, a lot of Hispanics, a lot of Asians, a lot of all sort of folks who won't necessarily like each other. I mean you get them all in one room and there are going to be a lot of fights. We're going to come back to that.

But I want to tell you what I think is the most difficult moral burden that Republican leaders who have been around as I have have to bear. There are only two sentences that define all of American political history since 1968.

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The first is that the Democratic party went too far to the left under Johnson and McGovern and never came back. The second is that the Republican party rejected the best efforts of the American people to make it a majority. For 25 years the American people have been saying we don't want the Democrats. Please grow up and accept being the majority. And for 25 years we said, hah, you can't make us.

I'm going to give you some numbers that will startle you. But let me just say this, and I feel this from the absolute bottom of my heart, and I say this as somebody who has been active as a volunteer since 1960 when I was in high school.

We can't do much about the Democrats. They went too far to the left. They are still too far to the left. That's their problem. But we have a huge burden of responsibility to change our behavior so that everyone who wants to replace the welfare state and everyone who wants to renew American civilization has a home, and it's called being Republican. We have to really learn how to bring them all in.

And I think the first step of all that is to insist that at the core of identification the only division that matters is that question. You want to replace the welfare state and renew American civilization. The answer is just fine, come and join us. And not allow the news media, not allow the

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Democrats, not allow interest groups to force us into fights below that level in terms of defining who we are. That in any general election or any effort to govern that we are every one who is willing to try to replace the welfare state and we are every one who is willing to renew American civilization.

Now, that means there is a lot of ground in there to argue about details. Exactly how do you replace the welfare state. Exactly which idea is the best idea. But if we accept every one coming in, we strongly change the dynamics of exactly how this country is governed and we begin to create a majority Republican party that will frankly just inexorably crow out the Democrats and turn them into minority status.

Now, every time we start to fight over the details and we get the news media to do it to us and we get an interest group or a very clever Democratic presidential candidate or governor's candidate or local candidate, what we are going to do is step back a step, let their punch miss us. And then say, now, wait a second. Let's go back to the basics. I want to replace the welfare state, you want to prop it up. I want to lower taxes, you want to raise them. I want to rethink what we do to poor people by the way the welfare state destroys them, you want to keep destroying them.

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There are much greater differences between us and the left than there are between anybody inside or coalition, but unless we actively, constantly remind ourselves of that, they will both in the news media and in the Democratic party consciously find ways to force us to split because they know the only way they can maintain power from here on out is to block us from becoming a coherent majority.

Now, I also want to put on your shoulders the burden of failing to learn how to grow up and be a majority because I think we Republicans sometimes forget how human the price is. Every day somewhere in American there is a child who dies because their mother had no pre-natal care because the welfare state has now taught such total irresponsibility that even though it is available for free if you are very poor, they don't show up. Most of the vaccination problems in America are not problems of free vaccine. They are in fact problems of people who get free vaccine but who don't show up.

Every day in American a young man is killed somewhere and murder is now the most common cause of death for black males 15 to 24. More common than it was in Vietnam. Every day somewhere in American somebody is forced to go into a classroom where we know from historic experience zero learning will occur, literally. We have teachers in the

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system -- I was radicalized by a Chicago Tribune story of a teacher who had never, ever in her career had a successful year, and every principal she had had had tried to fire her and the tenure system had kept her in her job. And when she was asked by the Chicago Tribune reporter what her educational goals were since she had 12 years left to teach, it was, "to retire with a full pension." And they were going to put 30 children back in her room that September. This was four years ago, so she's still there. And so 30 children will be crippled for a year among the poorest and least able to be crippled in our society so that every time we fail to get our act together and every time we fail to change the welfare state, it gets worse and the pathologies get worse and the human cost gets worse. I think that's a very important part that we have to face.

Now, I don't blame liberal Democrats, politicians, bureaucrats, news media for being who they are. We can hardly turn to them and say to Mayor Dinkens -- this is like turning to Brezhnev and saying, why don't you quit being a communist? I mean to turn to Mayor Dinkens and say, why don't you quit being for the welfare state, ask him to deny his entire career, deny everything he believes, deny all his political allies. I don't blame him. He is who he is. I blame us because as political leaders we have failed to offer

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a vision of a renewed America and failed to recruit and mobilize everyone who shares our values. We are in the business of beating the people who don't get it. We should not be all that unhappy that they didn't get it. That's not their problem. They are who they are.

Propping up a failed welfare state is the job of the Democratic party so that Clinton's tax increases make perfect sense. If you had his allies and they met in a room and said we've got to have the money, you'd raise taxes too. Beating the people who want to prop up the welfare state is our job, and the fascinating thing is we have an enormous majority. One of the great problems Republicans have is we don't realize how huge our potential majority is. We keep walking around as though we're the natural minority when in fact we're the natural majority, but we can't get our act together.

Let me give you some numbers. Taking just the left, the candidate of the left for president since 1968 has gotten the following percentages. This is an amazing set of numbers. In 1968 Hubert Humphrey got, rounding upward, 43 percent -- I think 42.7. In 1972 George McGovern got 38 percent. In 1976 no one on the left could get the nomination. Jimmy Carter ran as a Southern Baptist, populist, anti-Washington reformer who was seen as socially to the right of Gerald Ford. So the

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left wing candidate got zero. There wasn't anybody on the ballot. But in 1980 we all figured was (a) confused and (b) liberal. He got 41 percent. In 1984 Walter Mondale stood proudly in San Francisco in a moment I'll never forget. I was out there as part of the Truth Squad. And he stood proudly and he said, "I will raise your taxes." We closed down our office on the grounds that we did not want to slow down the rate at which he got to talk to the American people. The American people said I think he really will. He got 41 percent.

In 1988 Michael Dukakis did not use the word liberal until mid-October and was a new Democrat. This is a quadrennial process now. All Democrats are new Democrats because they know what we do to old Democrats. And finally in mid-October he said, "Alright, I am a liberal." He was in Central Valley, California, when he finally said it. He got 46 percent. We elected the first sitting Vice President to win the President since Martin Van Buren in 1836.

In 1992 in a three-way race for president the new version of "I'm really not a Democrat," said, "I will cut middle class taxes, I will cut spending, I am for workfare" and he got 43 percent of the vote. And one of the reasons Bill Clinton is in desperate trouble is that he and his staff think they are Ronald Reagan in 1980 when in fact they're a

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minority candidate with a minority support representing a minority of the country.

Now, look at those numbers for a second. Notice how consistent they are. Between 38 at the bottom, 46 at the top, averaging around 42 or 43. And the only reason they are that high is that the Republican party has reached out to blacks and Hispanics who are extremely pro-family, extremely anti-gay in the military, very anti-tax increase, very pro-workfare but who feel that on ethnic grounds the Republican party hasn't been open enough. And if we ever learn how to reach out to blacks and Hispanics, my guess the left will drop to about 30 percent and just literally just plummet. But even with our inadequacies, you're talking about a consistent pattern between 38 and 46, averaging around 42.

Now, let me carry you a step further. Current data this year, polling data, four pieces that are just I think so astonishing that I can't figure out why no one in the Clinton White House can't figure this out except they can't figure anything else out either, so there's sort of a pattern here. Four polls. The Washington Post, hardly a right wing source. I mean I don't think the Washington Post is the human events of the capitol. The Washington Post poll said, Do you think the President has cut spending enough? By 77 to 6 the country said no. Seventy-seven percent want deeper spending

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cuts.

Second, USA Today. Do you think taxes are too high? Two percent -- two -- said, we're undertaxed. This was the let's contribute group. Fifty-five percent said they were already overtaxes before the Clinton tax increases, and 41 percent said their taxes were about right without the Clinton tax increases. Now, if 96 percent are either okay or too high and only 2 percent they are undertaxed, to come in with a \$300 billion tax increase is an act of self immolation.

Third polling example. The Atlanta Constitution in ten states asked southern blacks, "Do you believe we should require work from people who get welfare, including women with young children?" which is the hardest way you can ask the question. Eighty-two to 11 in favor of a work requirement. Now, if 82 percent of southern blacks favor a work requirement, the only two places in America that don't favor work requirement are the Democrats in Congress and the Stanford faculty. Just think about 82 percent favoring the work requirement. We're not talking here about right wingers, you know, living in suburban enclaves who want to punish the poor. We're talking about, this was only asked, in fact, it was slightly higher. Among southern whites it was 79 to 12.

Last example. The Washington Post again asked the

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question, "Do you think government should be bigger or smaller?" Now, in 1984 at the peak of the Reagan revolution when Reagan was getting reelected in a landslide, the answer was 49 smaller, 43 bigger. That's a six point plurality. This spring the answer was 65 smaller, 30 bigger.

So, now, let me rack the numbers up. Seventy-seven cut spending more. Ninety-six percent, we're not undertaxed. Eighty-two percent, work requirement. Sixty-five percent, smaller government. You begin to see a potential majority here. It's very big and very real. And if you can find a way in your district and in your campaign and in your constituency to find resonating comments and questions that begin to fit that two-thirds to four-fifths base, where people just go, oh, yeah, of course, that's right. The most popular singled phrase in the 1992 campaign, actually ordered by George Bush. Government is too big and it spends too much. More people agreed with that sentence strongly, emphatically agreed with government is too big and it spends too much than any other single sentence said by anybody in the 1992 campaign. They just didn't think the President had done enough to respond to that reality. And so 19 percent of them voted for Perot.

Now, you start with looking at our majority, this potential size of our group, and I think what you've got to

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do -- and here's where I'm going to be a little different than a lot of your consultants. And you have to accept at least for the purpose of today that I'm talking as an elected official who ran twice and lost, who has won eight campaigns. I won the Whip's race by two votes. I won reelection in 1990 by 974 votes. I won the primary in 1992 by 980 votes. So I know a fair amount about campaigning, and I run real risks. [Inaudible question from audience.] It has been some weeks. We're trying to sort of gradually erase that. I won the general election by 58 percent, which we thought was a healthier thing to do. I'm not advocating you make it narrow, but what I'm going to tell you, I want to share with you honestly and up front because I think it's the essence of good citizenship, but it makes it harder to be a candidate.

Now, what I want to suggest to you is that there are three steps involved in being a citizen candidate -- not one. When you go to see some kinds of consultants, they'll say to you, "If I get you to win, who cares about the rest?" You know, lie, smear, steal, what the heck? At least you won.

Now, you think about it there is a corrosive cynicism to that attitude which in the end frankly crippled George Bush because he didn't keep his word. It is destroying I think Bill Clinton, and it's a very important concept. I want to argue that you have to win in a way which lets you govern so

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that people want to reelect you because you actually did what you campaigned on. Now, this is a much harder task, and I'm being honest and up front with you. This is not the easy way to do it. But for the country it is the necessary way to do it.

The three steps are, first, make clear what you believe and what you will do about what you believe. Second, wage a campaign that is clear about your commitments so people actually vote for the changes they want. And, third, actually keep your campaign promises so people can help you get done what you and they want and what you and they have promised.

In other words, and I don't think you do this on a mountain top, but I'm going to give you some techniques and give you some ways of putting this together that will let you actually go out and form your base majority, and I'm convinced that in almost every one of your districts over time you can get to a very big majority. You may not be able to do it in your first race, but over time most Americans want to replace the welfare state and most Americans want the reforms we represent. But that is a three-step process and that they are the keys to healthy self-government.

If you think about it, when Reagan kept his word -- and we're really learning this the hard way by watching Clinton

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disintegrate -- when Reagan kept his word, even the liberals who didn't like what he was doing, admired the fact that he was doing it. You hear people say, well, by God, at least he means what he says, at least he's standing for something. The most self destructive single thing President Bush did -- and I worked with him for four years and I think he and Barbara are terrific people -- but when he broke his pledge on taxes the way he broke it, it permanently drove a stake into his own coalition. You go back and look at the Perot voters, and it is astonishing how many of them were driven by that one decision. Why? Because for months we had run commercials. We had said it over and -- this was not a mild thing. This was over and over a definitional difference between Mondale and Dukakis and Reagan and Bush.

And then you look at Bill Clinton. I mean no man has told more lies more quickly and broken them more easily than Bill Clinton. It is the most astonishingly self destructive performance. And in the long run it is not cute. It is not a good gimmick. It is destructive. Now, in Clinton's case it is destroying him. But the total effect over time of the politics of smear and distort and deceive is to cripple America because people start to say, well, why should I believe any of them? And you can't have a free society, you can't sustain it, if there is no honor. This is the opposite

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of what some consultants will tell you because frankly they grew up in a different era. But I will just tell you bluntly. The great lesson of Ronald Reagan is that you can if you are careful and you think it through and you know what you're doing, you can tell people the truth about what you're going to do. You can get a majority for doing what you're going to do. And when you do it, you'll actually increase your majority because they'll be glad you kept your word. But it is a much harder job.

This is very hard work. It is much easier in the short run to lie, to smear and to distort. But to renew American civilization I believe we have to rebuild faith in the process of self-government. And in the long run I think only very calm, steady, honest campaigns build the kind of basic trust that renews American civilization. I used 30 second commercials. We use a campaign song. We do everything everyone else is. I'm not saying tactically that you ought - - when I say calm, steady, use black and white brochures because you don't want to, you know -- but what I am saying to you is there is a rhythm of relationship. The difference between a one night stand and a marriage. The difference between somebody you invest in for a lifetime and somebody you met once at a bar. And all too much of American politics has become the equivalent of a one night stand. If I can lie

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my way through this one, then I'll get reelected, then I'll figure out how to lie my way through the next one. And while it may work occasionally for some candidates, the corrosive effect on the system is devastating. And what it teaches Americans about their whole process of self government undermines the whole system. So I am calling on you to take the harder road because your country needs it, because it is the only road that will allow us to renew American civilization for our children.

Now, to understand how we do that -- because I want us to do it successfully. I'm not saying to you run off on some academic adventure, feel good about yourself when you're clobbered. I want you to win doing the right things so you can then govern doing the right things, so you can then win more easily because you did the right thing.

I want to discuss three different things. First, I want to discuss the principles of renewing American civilization. Second, I'm going to discuss the principles and the skills necessary to be a renewing candidate and then ultimately to be a renewing incumbent. And, third, I'm going to discuss the concept and principles of creating a community among those who are committed for replacing the welfare state and for renewing American civilization.

And I want to say one thing because all of you are going

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to be out campaigning this year, and I really mean this from the bottom of my heart. As you learn things you wish I knew, I hope you will drop me a note or call us at GOPAC or in some way let us know. I am only a senior student. Remember what I said earlier. Politics is so complicated, the process of self-government among 260 million people is so unbelievably difficult that none of us are teachers. The most I can do is be sort of a senior guide slightly out ahead because I've been at it longer, but many of you will learn things that I can steal from you and I can then share with other people around the country. And since you're going to be out there with people and you're going to be out there learning and out there listening, I think you will be able to give all of us new approaches, new ideas, new breakthroughs. And I hope you will let GOPAC know about them because we're going to share them. One of the things we do, and we're going to recommend to the Virginia party to do here, is we put together telephone conference calls so we have, for example, campaign managers who routinely will talk to each other because it is a lot cheaper to call than it is to travel. Instead of taking five hours to get to a central place to have coffee with each other, we just get them on the phone wherever they are and for thirty minutes they swap how's your campaign going this week, what are you doing, what's working, what's

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not working, what are your common problems. And we try to do that for both candidates. You know, what's working with your news media, what's working with your speeches, what's helping you raise money. And the same thing with the campaign managers, so you build a rhythm of learning so people can share with each other. And we found in the congressional campaigns last years 41 of the 47 freshmen Republicans were involved in one way or another with our conference call program and were sharing ideas and approaches with each other. So we think that technique can be very, very powerful.

Now, let me first discuss the principles of renewing American civilization, and let me say as backdrop that this is a very complicated subject. And I'm going to give you just the smattering of an outline today. This fall at Kennesaw State College in Kennesaw, Georgia, I'm going to teach a 20 hour course in renewing American civilization. It's going to be two hours every Saturday starting September 18, and then we're going to rewrite the course in December, come back and teach it in January of '94. Rewrite it during '94 and teach it again in '95. Rewrite it one more time during nine months of '95 and teach a final version of the course in January of '96 with three goals.

First, we want to have by April of '96 a genuine

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intellectual blueprint to replace the welfare state that you could look at as a citizen and say, yeah, that has a pretty good chance of working. That's dramatically better than what we've been doing.

Second, we want to find 200,000 activist citizens, and I hope all of you will be part of this, committed at every level of American life to replacing the welfare state. Because America is a huge decentralized country. You've got to have school boards, city councils, hospital boards, state legislatures, county commissioners, mayors, and you've got to have congressmen and senators and the President and governors, who literally you take all the elected posts in America and then you take all the people necessary to run for those posts and to help the campaigns, etc., I think it takes around 200,000 team players to truly change America. And I think one of the reasons we've been frustrated is we keep thinking if we get one guy elected, boy, he'll change it. So we elect a President.

I remember in 1982 -- part of what taught me this -- Ronald Reagan, great speaker, 1982, State of the Union. "I want us to decentralize American government and to return to the cities and counties many opportunities and give them back some of the tax money." Every liberal Democratic mayor in the country said, "What? You want to give me more

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responsibility? Get serious. I want the cash." And the Democrats in Congress held hearings to which they invited the Democrats in the city halls who came in and said, "Don't do that stuff. Just send more money." And I realize if you don't have a reform mayor and a reform city council ready to take responsibility, they're not going to tell the Congress. And if you don't have a reform Congress, they're not going to give it. And so the State of the Union just disappeared by May. I mean it was just gone.

David Carreras there can tell you stories about Jack Kemp's efforts to go out into the big cities, and the poor would say, "Yes, we want more opportunity." And the bureaucrats who were making a living off the poor would say, "Are you crazy? If we lose these people, what will our job look like?" And I have had black politicians from big cities say to me on the floor of the House, "Jack Kemp is right, but I can't vote with him because the union that organized the public housing bureaucrats will run a candidate against me in the primary if I take power away from bureaucracy and give it to the poor. But Kemp's right and I hope you guys keep working on it."

Now, my point is rather than just complain that we need to reach in to every part of America and have candidates at every level and citizens at every level prepared. And so,

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first, we have a blueprint. Second, we reach out and find
200,000 activist citizens.

Third, we create a process -- and this is something you
can all help with in your own districts -- we create a
process interesting enough that the national news media has
to actually look at the material in order to cover the
course. Our goal here is to sort of infect them with new
ideas and new language and new approaches so that we'll know
we're succeeding a year or two from now if the Washington
Post, the New York Times and ABC News are slightly different
and if they're asking a different set of questions. And I
believe that's possible because frankly almost all of them
are occupied downtown, almost all of them are physically
scared, almost all of them know the welfare state isn't
working.

So those are our three goals, and what I am going to
give you right now is a real smattering of what will be 20
hours of material this fall that we'll keep improving. And
as you get good examples, good success stories, I want you to
send us yours and we'll frankly try to include them in the
class.

And we're looking across the country. We just formed --
one of the success stories coming out of the GOPAC tapes is
the Mayor of Jersey City who is a reform Republican, the

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first one elected since 1904, who ran based on the GOPAC tapes and who in fact won in an absolute fluke. He had run for the state senate and gotten our tapes and learned our style of campaigning and lost because he was in a very Democratic area. As I said, no Republican since 1904. He then turned around and they indicted and convicted the Democratic mayor of Jersey City -- a fairly regular event -- and the big city machine split three ways over who ought to replace the mayor and they suddenly had a wide open special election. There were 19 candidates. He got 17 percent of the vote and won. Went in with replacement ideas.

He walked in and there were policemen sitting behind the precinct desk. He replaced them with civilians and put a hundred policemen walking the beat in the poorest neighborhood to make it safe. There was a lot of back taxes hadn't been collected. He bundled them and sold them to private sector to collect it and got the money for the city. He shrank by attrition the workforce by 10 percent and lowered the property tax so people could afford to keep their houses.

The machine went crazy. They had the regular election twelve months later. Jesse Jackson campaigned against him twice. He got 68 percent of the vote against the machine's single candidate. He won eight of the nine city council

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faces with a reform ticket that was a Democrat-Republican ticket, mostly Democrat, most reformers, blacks, Hispanics, whites. And in the ninth race there's a runoff on June 15 between his candidate who is leading and the machine candidate. So he may literally by the end of this cycle have total working control of the city council.

Now, he's got a huge challenge. He may well fail. But it's the right direction and the right gamble. And I would hope as you go out and as you do your thing that you'll find ways to send us good stories and good examples. And what we're looking for are success stories. We know there's pathology. We know there are horror stories. We know the welfare state is failing. Let's just stipulate that. That's the opening sentence. The welfare state has failed. Now, every Saturday we're going to spend two hours on the positive side. Therefore, here's the replacement.

Now, let me start just as quick overview. First, as I said earlier, American civilization is a civilization. Very important. It is impossible for anyone on the left to debate you on that topic. In fact, I have a standing offer to Dr. Shalala, the head of Health and Human Services, that I will be prepared to debate her on whether American or Iranian civilization is better for women as long as the debate is in Tehran where, of course, she would have to stand wearing

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Iranian clothing and a very long dress and she wouldn't be allowed to speak. So we'd be at a good starting point here.

But the reason I say that is if you go out and you campaign on behalf of American civilization and you want to renew American civilization, it is linguistically impossible to oppose you. And how is your opponent going to get up and say I'm against American civilization? All they can get up and say is "Well, I'm really for it, but by the way there's nothing wrong." No one believes that in this country.

Second, if it is a civilization, it has real values and real rules. This is a very important part of where I think it broke down. And the reason it's important is that every generation has two waves of immigrants. One temporal and the other geographic. Geographic immigrants are called foreigners. They are the people I helped swear in yesterday. Temporal immigrants are called children. They are brand new. They arrive. They have to learn to be American, and we have for two generations had a school system which has failed to teach them what it means to be American. What are the basics? Why is George Washington important? Why is the Constitution important? What is it you have to learn about the work ethic? You cannot be American without work. It's not possible.

And so we've got to go back and say what are the key

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rules that we are going to teach so that everybody is able to be an American. And I want to suggest to you that there are five basic areas. I call them pillars. Think of it as the pillars that American civilization rests on. Five pillars of progress and freedom. I think that freedom and progress are our two most powerful words. We are for freedom. We are for progress. That's how we measure things. You have more freedom, have we made progress?

Now, there are five of them. I am going to just give them to you briefly and then I'm going to go through each one for a couple of minutes. First, personal strength. Now, I'll come back and define it in a second but you can't have a free society without personal strength. You can't have a free market without personal strength. The most important single thing to teach the poor because the poor need more than the rest. Teddy Kennedy could hire a tutor. It takes personal strength to rise from poverty.

Second, entrepreneurial free enterprise. Not just business. But the spirit of getting the job done, whether it's a scientist in a government research lab, General Kenney who I will talk about in the Air Force, or somebody going out and -- Bill Gates creating Microsoft. The spirit of getting the job done as opposed to the bureaucratic spirit of claiming the paperwork was processed. We failed but at least

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we stamped the right documents.

Third, the spirit of invention and discovery. What is it that makes America the most successful technological society in history?

Fourth, quality as defined by Edward Deming's profound knowledge, and fifth, the lessons of American history. What is it that is uniquely American that we should learn from when we try to _____.

Now, I think these five pillars matter because I think if you master them and if you go back to your constituency and you look around your constituency, they will suddenly help you come up with creative problem solving in ways that are undreamable in the welfare state.

Let me start -- and my point is they provide you the tools to develop your own solutions. If you thoroughly get in the habit of checking off these five areas and saying, alright, we're now faced with this new problem, what do we learn from these five areas that lets us solve this, I think you will be astonished how much there is that is already available and already can be used by you, and you will be astonished at how backwards government is applying all five.

Now, we're going to spend two hours in the course on each of these, so obviously this morning I'm going to give you a very, very truncated version. But I do want to briefly

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just talk about the notion of how you use them and how your approach them.

First, personal strength. I use five terms to define what I mean by personal strength. And this we developed by talking to a lot of people. The first is integrity, a very tough standard. But you can't have a totally dishonest free society. You can't have a totally dishonest market system.

Second is courage, which is often the first prerequisite of integrity. There is a reason that we have the statue to the Marines at Iwo Jima. There's a reason that we honor Memorial Day. There's a reason that we care about veterans. Courage matters in a free society. But not only just battlefield courage. Now, Clarence Thomas rising from segregation in Pinpoint, Georgia, to the Supreme Court of the United States took enormous courage.

Third, hard work. Lynn Cheney once gave an absolutely brilliant speech on the fact that you cannot explain America without hard work. And she went back all the way to the founding fathers and beyond to the Colonial period, and she took various passages out of letters and writings and just said the work ethic is all through the American tradition. Go back and read Franklin, who leaves Boston at 13 to go to work as an apprentice. Go and read Henry Ford. Go and read Thomas Edison, who once said genius is 1 percent inspiration

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and 99 percent perspiration. Read Sam Walton's life story. These folks worked. And any effort to explain how you rise in America that doesn't say I sure hope you have a work ethic is a failure. There is a ladder of success in America but no escalator, and it's impossible to build an escalator. So if you're going to climb, it's going to be hard work.

Now, if you have integrity, courage and hard work, you have to have perseverance. You have to stay at it. And again when you read about people who become successful -- and you have to say for Bill Clinton, it would have been easy to collapse as Gary Hart had and Joe Biden had, who when Gennifer Powers broke out in that story and he was being savaged every day and his life must have been horrible, he at least had the sheer ability to get back up off the floor and to keep moving forward. Perseverance matters. And the way you get perseverance is discipline. Nothing replaces self discipline.

So if you have integrity, courage, hard work, perseverance and discipline, you have the beginning of success. Now, let me carry this back to your district and your campaign. I put together a list. Coaches. Every football, baseball -- my son-in-law is a tennis coach. I mean you go to any coach, they'll tell you those words matters.

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Small business people, men or women, I mean you go to somebody and say what's is like to run a small business? One, you work. Small businesses don't run themselves.

Any athlete who is really good will tell you how much they practice, and they often make some of the best people to go visit high schools and talk about the point I'm making. Ministers, counselors, local police, firemen, retired military. We're meeting this summer with a group of retired boot camp drill instructors to talk about -- I'm meeting with black and Hispanic drill instructors to say to them, you tell me what you would do in East Los Angeles with teen gangs. You tell me what you've learned about training young men and women that you would apply in this society. And all through our society there are retired military who understand exactly the point we're making about personal strength.

Go to a McDonald's or Wendy's or any place that hires 16 year olds and teaches them things like, yes, you really have to show up on Monday even if your girlfriend is made at you. And, yes, you have to stay here for the entire lunch hour and actually do your job.

My older daughter worked one summer at Delta. It was one of those wonderfully useful shock to her that it didn't matter how much she partied over the weekend they actually expected on Monday morning on time to be there. She had this

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wonderful guy. He was black and about 6 foot 3." And she is 5 foot 4 and very intense. And he leaned over her, and he said, "Young lady, you need to understand that your life is gone if you're not here because we're going to fire you by 9 o'clock on Monday morning." She looked at him and she said, "Yes, sir." She called me and she said, "I think they are real serious about this." It was what she at that point in her life she needed that experience more than anything else that could have happened to her. And then they explained to her something that I never knew that all of you who travel may be aware of. If there is a little child in that airplane and they come off that airplane and they are given to you and you are to get them to the next airplane, you die if you lose them. I mean they just said, "Hold that child," because they don't want a 7 year old or 8 year old wandering around the airport lost.

And again, if you're a brand new college freshman and this is all new to you and this is your first experience of real responsibility, it changes you inside. That's what we've got to get back to is how do we get people to grow into personal strength. And my point to you is whether you're going to boy scouts or girl scouts or to your ministers, you will find in your community when you talk about personal strength a network of people who are going to resonate with

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you and who are going to say, "Yes, that's right." That's what my life has been dedicated to and I've always wanted to have a political leader who understood how important that is."

The second area, entrepreneurial free enterprise. Again, very simple. Getting the job done. The opposite of how bureaucracies function. What William James meant when he called pragmatism the only truly American philosophy. What works? Not, what are the rules? Not, what are the regulations? What works?

General Kenney, who was Douglas MacArthur's air commanders, is one of the best examples I've ever read of getting the job done. He was in the military. He wasn't doing it for a profit. He was doing it to get the job done. For example, in World War II they wanted to put machine guns in the nose of a B25 so they could fly very low over Japanese ships and skip -- literally like throwing a rock -- skip a bomb into the side of the ship. And to do that you had to go up over the ship and they needed machine guns in the nose to clear the decks so the anti-aircraft guns wouldn't kill the airplane. So they got eight machine guns and put them in the nose and they were practicing doing all of this with one Technical Sergeant who was an older guy who had been around for 20 years and knew what he was doing. And the guy was

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practicing and working it all out. Kenney gets a memo from General Arnold's staff in Washington. It says, "It is technically impossible to do what you're doing." And Kenney sends a memo to General Arnold, who was the Commander of the Army Air Corps, and he says, "We have a problem. My Technical Sergeant has a B25 flying with eight machine guns in its nose, and we are currently sinking Japanese ships with it. Your staff has told me this is not possible. We could either (a) ground the airplane since it can't fly or (b) instruct your staff to quit doing theoretical studies about topics they don't know anything about. Which do you think would be better for the war effort?" Of course, they'd known each other all through the interwar years. It was a very small Army Air Corps back then. And so Arnold sent him back a very funny reply and said, "I've tried to get my staff to understand that we're in a real war so quit doing paper studies."

But I want you to think about that notion. I mean Kenney's whole memoir, his entire book is 500 pages of just cutting through the red tape and getting the job done because he didn't have time to worry about Washington. And it's a way, it's a style. It's what has made America, and you see it in all of our detective stories. Have you ever seen a detective movie where the detective says, "You know, we could

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save the girl but after all regulation 412(c) says that would be inappropriate"? I mean the classic American detective movie is, yes, I may risk my life; yes, I may break the rules; yes, they may throw me in jail, but, by God, we're going to save her.

There is a profound underlying reason. Getting the job done matters in America, and we want to rebuild that. Now, you can go around and you can ask doctors, "What is red tape doing to your practice?" Ask small business, "What is red tape doing to your practice?" Ask teachers, "What is red tape doing to your ability to teach?" You will find in your district an amazing number of people who would like to be able to get back to an entrepreneurial spirit, who would like to be able to get the job done, and who now see government not as their helper, but as the primary hinderance to their success.

And so entrepreneurial free enterprise whether it's for profit or it's in government or it's in non-profits, getting the job done. Defining the job right. Getting it done. And how do we clear out the red tape and let people get back to work.

Third, the spirit of innovation and discovery. I'm going to tell you two stories I've used so successfully that I have to always use them. Anyway feel free to steal both if

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you want.

The first one is in defining what's gone wrong with America and how we're beginning to lose the cutting edge of technology you have to start with culture. And I always tell people about Thomas Edison inventing the electric light. Imagine that Edison invented the electric light today. Dan Rather would report it in a story which began, "The candle making industry was threatened today." And at least three Democratic Senators would introduce a bill on behalf of the candle making union. Ralph Nader would call a press conference and announce that electricity can kill and that the entire thing is a plot by General Electric to force poor people to buy light bulbs they don't need. And that's the difference in our psychology. In the 1870s inventing the electric light was a big, page 1, positive news story, and it was followed by several years of stories about people beginning to buy generators and what it was like to wire your house. There was a whole sense of excitement about inventing progress, about creating a better future.

Second example, imagine the Wright Brothers trying to invent the airplane in the age of OSHA and the EPA. Have you ever thought about what it would be like? I mean imagine Orville and Wilbur walk into the EPA office, the Environmental Protection Agency. "Hi, you know, we're two

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bicycle mechanics from Ohio, and we've invented this machine. We're pretty sure it's going to go up. We're real sure it's going to come down. The best place to try it out is at Kitty Hawk, which has the best wind on the East Coast, and we'd like to get permission to use a sand dune."

Now, first of all the bureaucrat would respond, "You guys are probably from Ohio where only 1,300 miles of sand dunes are very scarce and you're probably going to ruin it." But they negotiate. They get permission that if they'll replace the sand dune and repair the saw grass that they can go ahead and do it.

Then comes, of course, hurdle number two. "You guys done the endangered insect survey?" "We're bicycle mechanics. What do you mean the endangered insect survey?" "Well, let's get serious here. You have this thing with a propeller on the back, right? It's going to move through the air. It's going to kill insects. How do you know whether or not they're going to become extinct unless you first check to see who they are? I mean you might wipe out some species we haven't even found yet." So they leave EPA with a 55 page endangered insect survey to go out and check it out.

They walk down the hall to OSHA, Occupational Safety and Health. Now, I want you to imagine just for 30 seconds Orville and Wilbur walking into OSHA. I mean have you ever

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seen the original Wright Brothers flyer at the National Air and Space Museum. It was made of spruce and muslin with a tiny engine on the back, right? They walk in. "We're from Ohio, and we've just invented this machine that we're pretty sure is going to go up. We're real sure it's going to come down and he said he'd fly. And we'd like your advice on how to make it safe."

Now, they would have weighted it down with so much safety gear that it would have flown like a sled and nobody in American today would fly anywhere. You'd all go by train. Unless, of course, in the 1820s when Stephenson invented the rocket, he'd walked in and said to EPA and OSHA, "Hi, I have this idea for this faster than horse device that will run on rails," because the train was a bigger break with technology than the airplane and probably would not have been approved because it was notoriously unsafe especially in America where it wrecked all the time because we did two things. We did not use good rails, and we went too fast.

So you would have had these stagecoaches unless, of course, back during the _____ there had been an EPA and an OSHA. When someone walked in, because you were walking, and said, "Hi, I've got this device. You would put the horse here. You would put the wheels here."

My point -- and it's funny, but let me tell you where

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it's real. The Food and Drug Administration today takes two years longer in America to approve medical technology than it takes in Germany or Canada. And we have a law which says if it hasn't been approved here, you can't export it. So the Canadians and Germans can approve new technology for their people to use, but if you build it in America, you cannot sell it to them. And I believe we will lose 30,000 high paid jobs in the medical technology in the next three years literally moving offshore, because we are now artificially by regulation and by lawyer making it impossible to compete in the world market medical technology.

Now, that happens on every front. It happens with biotechnology. I talked to a man whose only major change was they changed the label, and it has now been sitting for two years at FDA trying to get approval. Now, this is on the technology. This is not a drug. This is just technology. And those are the ways in which we are -- while it sounds funny at first the attitude of the left towards technology -- read Gore's book. If it's new, it's dangerous. He literally says at one point government should test every new technology. Now, if Thomas Edison had met Al Gore, we'd all be in the dark.

And so while it sounds funny, it goes to the core of the question, do you want us to be what we were under Benjamin

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Franklin? Remember Franklin. Politician. Printer.
Entrepreneur. Wise man. Founder of the first public
library. Discoverer of electricity. Inventor of the
lightning rod. Inventor of the bifocal lens. Inventor of
the Franklin stove.

I mean every one of the founding fathers had an interest
in technology. George Washington raised new breeds of mules.
Jefferson consciously went out and looked at new kinds of
technologies. These guys all understood progress came from
technology.

My point to you as you go around in your district is you
go see science teachers, see engineers, see the people who
sell technology. If you begin to just go around and say to
these folks, I really want to form a network of everybody in
our area who is interested in new technology. I want to form
a network of everybody who thinks we could have a better
quality of life, a better future, etc. Tell me what you
need. You can begin to create a whole new layer of people in
this zone who get into politics for the first time who've
never been political before because they've never had a
candidate say to them, "Tell me how we can help instead of
hurt in your business and in your area of interest and your
concern."

Fourth, after personal strengths, entrepreneurial, free

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enterprise and the spirit of invention and discovery, is Deming's concept of quality or what he calls profound knowledge. Now, I cannot to strongly say to all of you, profound knowledge is a cultural phenomenon. This is not total quality management and some set of gimmicks and three slogans on the wall. This is a very different way of thinking about what you're doing.

It's frankly best described I think in a book by Peterson at Ford called A Better Idea. He writes very readable, understandable English. Ford under Peterson adopted Deming's concepts and went from being in desperate trouble in the late 70s to now having, for example, the _____ plant which produces the Taurus is the second most efficient auto plant in the world. There is only one Toyota plant in Japan that's better. It's better than every other plant in Japan, every plant in Europe and every plant in the United States.

And the reason is they applied a set of principals -- I'm not going to give you all this -- Deming himself takes 40 hours, a four day, ten hour seminar. But I want to just - - it starts with the notion that your customer defines need. I'll give you one example. I was just stunned by it because it's so obvious and I never thought about it. If customer defines need in government and you are the working poor,

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guess what is the number one thing you need out of the Public Health and Welfare Office? Anybody want to guess? No, no, you're already working. You're a working person, but you're poor. You don't have much money, but you are working. Well, you need to go to the Public Health Office or you need to go to the Welfare Office. You know the number one thing you need? An office that is open in the evening or on Saturdays. I mean every retail store in every mall is open every night. Government which serves the poor is not open except when the poor goes to work. So the only way you can get to government if you're poor is take a day off your job. And probably the simple act, and I've not explore this in detail, but probably the simple act of opening those Public Health at noon and closing them at 9:00 at night and making them available after work and opening Welfare Offices at noon and keeping them til 9:00

Now, the welfare bureaucracy hate it. But the next time you are out shopping on a Sunday, or the next time you are out shopping on a Saturday, or the next time you are out shopping during the week at night after you get off work, think about that. Business is concerned about the customer who defines need. Government is concerned about the bureaucrat who tells the customer what their opportunity is. Very different attitude.

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Second, in Deming's world everything is a system and problem solving is systemic. You're always looking for the system's improvement. One of the things -- and I'll give you a great one which came out of one of Jack Kemp's experiments that Bob Woodson had worked on. They found that if you simply require the maintenance man to live in the public housing project, you automatically improve the quality of maintenance because he or she knows that their clients will come and see them in the evening if it breaks again. So they automatically do a better job. Didn't cost a penny. Just require that if we're going to hire you, you have to live in the project you work at, and you automatically get better maintenance. It also means that one the weekend they're hanging around the project they maintain, they catch the kid who is vandalizing.

It totally changes things, but it's a systems approach. It's not this is a lazy person. It's how do we rethink the system. It's a constant effort to rethink what's wrong with the system.

Third, real entrepreneurs invent better products than their customers can dream. While customers define value, entrepreneurs create more value than the customer knew. If you look at the great breakthroughs in cars, or if you look at the great breakthroughs -- the microwave. Nobody wanted a

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microwave until it was invented. The fax. Nobody needed a fax until it was invented. But if you listen to people tell you what they want, after a while you're going to say, well, gee, if you really want this, this and this, maybe I can invent this. When's the last time you saw that kind of creativity in a bureaucracy?

Also, in the Deming model people improve their suppliers. People worry -- and, again, think about the business community in relation to schools. The schools are the supplier of their most important capital, human capital. And the product that they're getting right now from the suppliers is pathetic. Totally incapable of competing in the world market. And so businesses have to be directly involved in education because education is the supplier of the most important single commodity businesses need. And you begin to have a chain of relationships here where you worry about improving your supplier so that your supplier can improve what you're getting so you can then improve what you're doing for your customer.

The other big thing out of Deming that I think we've got to learn is continuous improvement. Now, two big reasons. First of all, you can do a little bit every day, and if you've been at all like me and spent half your life on diets, you really know what this means. Nobody loses weight fast

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permanently. You've got to change behaviors, change habits, change diets, and then gradually things work. It's amazing how you can gain weight quickly, but it's very hard to lose weight quickly.

The same thing is true across the board. One of the great problems dealing with the poor, it's very hard to climb the first three or four rungs of the ladder. It's very slow, and so you've got to teach people the idea you get a little better every day and you're surprised over two or three or four years how much better you get. But it's not one day. It's not one week. It's a little bit every day.

There's a second part of that. The civil service laws and the government procurement laws block that kind of improvement. You literally can't legally go out and have that kind of improvement, because it takes too long. Imagine the Defense Department trying to have incremental little improvements when the paperwork -- I talked to a guy the other day who was going to bid on a \$4 million dollar contract, and he figured out the paperwork cost a million dollars. He just gave up. He was a major commercial supplier of a product to every major airline in the world, will not try to sell it to the U.S. Air Force because he said it was just crazy. So it's sold to the Air Force by a tiny producer who produces nothing except Air Force products. So

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the Air Force pays about 25 percent more for that product than it would. But the whole structure of government is an anti _____.

Now, quality. We did a survey in my district last year. Twenty-three percent of the people in my district have taken something involving quality. And if you go out in your constituency and you look for the businesses, the companies, the consultants, all the places that are currently talking about quality, you will be astonished at the number of people who want to come and talk to you and tell you what they are doing.

And, again, they will be unused to the idea of a politician talking about quality. And they will be saying, "Gee, that is not something you talk about in politics." And all of a sudden you can learn success stories that apply to health care, and success stories that apply to education, and success stories that apply to managing the bureaucracy, and you will be able to suddenly have a whole new language to talk to your local press about. And you will be able to take a reporter with you as you go out and tour companies that applying quality and you can say them, "Hey, why don't we apply this to the Virginia State Government?"

And suddenly you sound like you are smart because you are listening to local people who are actually doing what it

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is that you think that you'd like to do and you can get the local person to then explain to the reporter why you are smart. And then the local person then thinks that, wow, you are their kind of candidate because you actually listen to them and you have a whole new network that isn't your normal Republican precinct worker, but it is somebody who sure knows the current bureaucracy doesn't make any sense. And you bring a whole new wave of energy into the political structure.

Lastly, fifth, now we have done personal strength, entrepreneur, free enterprise, the spirit of invention and discovery, and the concept of quality as defined by Deming's profound knowledge. And in each zone, I have tried to show you how to reach out and get actual supporters for your campaign and how to get actual local people in your community in each of those zones to help you figure out what it means.

Lastly, the lessons of American history. Why are we Americans? This is important, I think, for two very different reasons. It's important, first of all, because the only way you avoid the Balkans in Bosnia is by teaching and teaching and teaching every generation that we are Americans. We are one nation. And it's very important to do that for very powerful, long-term value reasons.

But there is a second reason to do it. America works.

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And we don't stop and say, "Gee, if I want to solve a problem, how have Americans solved that problem?" And our whole academic tradition is European-oriented and is, in a sense, an avoidance of America. So a lot of our Ph.D.'s write exactly the wrong things.

I really learned this vividly. When we captured the Grenada documents from the Communists, when we liberated the island of Grenada we captured all their documents. It was the first time that we ever had everything that a Communist government had. Now, obviously, with Gorbachev and the collapse of the Soviet empire, we have more documents than we can read. But, at that time, it was a fascinating thing. And they happened to speak English, so it was easy to get access to.

As the Grenadian Communist government was collapsing, they held meetings to look at their economy and every Tuesday, their top leadership got together and they studied the writings of Joe Stalin. Now Grenada is an island in the Caribbean. Stalin was a Georgian who was the dictator of Russia. His writings had no meaning, and, in fact were consistently wrong. And so every Tuesday they get together and they read Stalin and say, "What would Stalin have done?" And they would try to go out and apply Stalin to Grenada and it would just get worse for a week. And they would get back

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together.

Now the lesson I draw from this is not that you shouldn't study. But you ought to be careful what you study. And the point I make to you and I really mean this, part of why I became a history teacher, and I found it to be absolutely true in my public life as a political figure. America works. Studying Washington and Franklin and Jefferson and Adams teaches you things about 1993. Asking the question, "What would the founding fathers have done about public housing? What would the founding fathers do about the welfare system? How would the founding fathers have thought about public health?" actually works. These guys were really smart. They may have the wisest single group of people to ever get together in terms of a political system.

And so you need to look at the Declaration of Independence. What is it driving at? You have to look at the Constitution. You have to read the Federalist Papers. They are very clear documents. They explain, frankly, almost everything going on in Washington right now because they said, "We are going to divide up power." In peacetime presidents are not very strong. Congress is much stronger than presidents in peacetime. And they said that in the Federalist Papers. This is why you are going to stay free.

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They designed the machine so inefficient that no dictator could force it to work. On of the corollary, we can hardly get it to work voluntarily. And they would say that, that is life.

You read deToqueville. It is deToqueville who in the 1840s travelling America who says, "The most important single characteristic of America is volunteerism." Americans are joiners. And it is the wagon train, not the mountain man who is the archetype of America. It is the ability to get together, whether it is founding a Girl Scout troop, creating a church or synagogue, launching Kiwanis. America is a country of an extraordinary explosion of, "Let's get together and do something."

But what does that suggest to you as a political leader, as a public leader? Much of what needs to be solved in America can be solved voluntarily by just doing. And the founding of the YMCA was an effort to have a nice clean place for young men to come to in big cities so they wouldn't become alcoholics and end up in the _____. They didn't say as Shalala would, "We must need government dormitories." They said, "Why don't we found the YMCA?" in the 1870s.

The Boy Scouts, Lord Baydon-Powell, said, "Why don't we voluntarily get together to help young men learn the right things?" Juliette Low, "Why don't we form the Girl Scouts?"

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One of the great radicalizing moments of my life was buying Juliette Low's 1913 Handbook for Girl Scouts at Juliette Low's house in Savannah. It's entitled, "What Every Girl Should Do for Her Country." Highly patriotic. It had two remarkable phrases. This is 1913 now. Pre-liberation. (1) Every girl should save at least a penny every week because if you save at least a penny every week it will add up over time and the process of budgeting is something that you should learn. (2) Every girl should learn two trades so if one dies, she can earn a living at the other.

Now I want you to think about that sentence. "Every girl should learn two trades so if one dies, she can earn a living at the other." Three weeks after I read that sentence in 1982 I had 20 steel workers from Pittsburgh visit my office and explain to me that I owed it to them to keep their business alive because they had learned the only trade that they were ever going to learn in their whole life and the government owed them a job.

And I sat there and I thought about it. I literally had her handbook on the shelf near me. I thought about in 1913 they understood the world changes and you better be prepared to keep changing all your life. And somehow in the welfare state we have lost that. And we instead said to people, "Make a choice at 19. We will take care of you the rest of

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your life." Which is impossible. No government in the world can do it.

Sweden is collapsing because they can't do it. And I realize we are in a cultural struggle. And so you look at how America really works. _____, "Great Works on the American," which I recommend to you, because it shows how inventive we were, whether it is the invention of ice ships which used to take ice ships to Savannah for the summer, so you could actually have ice cream in mid-summer. This was before refrigeration. That was a big industry. It died when they got refrigeration.

Again, the candle-making story. Nothing wiped out the iceman like refrigerators. And you can image the bills that Teddy Kennedy would introduce today.

And lastly, _____. My only point here is that if you look at all the background. If you read Henry Cabot Lodge's great biography of Washington you begin to understand. Here, in Virginia, if you go down and see The Patriot at Williamsburg, you begin to get a sense of what it is like and a free people function. And why would you expect kids in East L.A. who have learned none of this to behave like Americans? It is not a questions of where they were born. They were all born in America. They just didn't learn anything about being Americans.

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And, so, I would just suggest to you when you have a chance go back to basics and ask yourself over and over, "What would they have done?" Not so we can go back and repeat 1776 because these guys were all smart. They would not automatically do exactly what they might have done in 1776. But the principles that are at the core of the American system are very powerful.

Now what we are going to do in the course are take these five areas that I've talked to you about: personal strength, entrepreneurial free-enterprise, the spirit of invention and discovery, quality as defined by Deming's profound knowledge, and the lessons of American history.

We are going to apply them to three areas. Now the important principal here is three. I'm choosing from my three

~~End of Tape~~

(cont.)

Exhibit 56

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of
the
speech*

Health is 14 percent of gross national product and I think it can be dramatically better and frankly cheaper. I think we can lower the cost of health in America dramatically. And, third, I think you've got to save the inner city because you can't stand the level of violence and ignorance and decay that are now going on. So those are the ones I'm picking. But the principle I'm going to give you is the Reagan Principle Three. For your own campaign, when you run for your own first year in office, listen to the people of your district, listen to your campaign supporters, listen

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Exhibit 56

RAC speech (cont.)

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to folks around you, and pick three areas to focus on.

Reagan believed emphatically that you should always pick three areas, and never more than three. Because you had to focus. Now, if you'll remember, Clinton went out to see him right after the election and Reagan told him to pick three. Now, Clinton came back and he picked Zoe Baird, gays in the military, and raising taxes, which were not--that wasn't the list Reagan had in mind. But the principle is right. And so I want you to think about it. Let me tell you what I think, there are five quick characteristics:

First, the ones you pick ought to be important to your majority. That is, the people you want to vote for you ought to say, Hey, that matters. And this is, what I want to tell you sounds very obvious. You'd be astonished how many campaigns don't walk through this. First, it just has to be important to your majority.

Second, they should affect daily life. Ideology is good. Problem-solving is better. The theory of nutrition is good. Let's bake bread in the morning is better. So there ought to be areas that people could measure in their daily life.

Third, they have to be doable. Everyone in your district would like the Fountain of Youth, and it would definitely affect their daily lives. I don't think you are

Exhibit 5b

RAC (cont.)

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going to get there. So they have to be things that you can, in fact, do.

Fourth, if you are given a choice, pick ones that unify your side or at a minimum don't split our side. That is, given a choice between one where you know you are going to be in a civil war with your own volunteers and one where everybody agrees, pick the one you agree on. Again, I know this sounds obvious. Believe me, I have been in enough campaigns and the like where you'd be astonished at people's ability to slide into a civil war on their own side six weeks before an election. When all you've got to do is say, Let's not talk about that. Let's talk about this. And just come back to the ones you want to talk about.

Lastly, in an ideal world, not necessary but an ideal world would be helpful, is that it's good if it's something that people do not yet, on the other side, know how to agree. In other words, when Reagan picked, I mean, when Bush picked a difference with Dukakis on taxes, it was one that Dukakis couldn't fight him on. And it is a very important model. So you want to pick, you want to pick, ideally, you'd like to pick topics where your opponent can't co-opt you. Now, you may not get there. And, frankly, if you are first, and you are creative, and you do it right, it doesn't matter that much. But in an ideal model, you'll pick a topic which is

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RAC, (cont.)

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important to the majority, affects their personal life, is doable, unifies your side and, by the way, your opponent can't be for it because his allies won't let him. At that moment, you have a huge winner. And you only need three. You can't carry more than three. You can't think about more than three. Humans can't, or, you know, we are very complex but limited.

I believe, if you take the five pillars I've described, if you find the three areas that will really fit you, and are really in a position to help you, that you are then going to have a language to explain renewing American civilization, a language to explain how to replace the welfare state, and three topics that are going to arouse volunteers and arouse contributions and help people say, Yes, I want this done. I'll put up a yard sign. And that's one of the tests I use. If I go and I make a speech back home, and I don't have people walk up and say, How can I help?, I know the speech wasn't any good. I don't care if they applaud. I want to know how many people filled out the volunteer cards. How many people said they'd put up a yard sign. Because if I'm not offering them a product line they want bad enough to help get the product, then I haven't done my job yet of learning how to lead.

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RAC, (cont.)

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So, that gives you the framework. We are going to close the course with a final two hours on Twenty-first Century Citizenship, and I'll just give you one example. And this is an area, by the way, where you can do some real invention and come and tell me, because we are not going to get this done until after you get elected, so you will--the last session of the course is not til the Saturday before Thanksgiving.

Just one insight: For most Americans, they don't live in their precinct, they live in their rolldex. You think about where your friends are. They are not three doors down. They are on the telephone. We don't know how to design a political system with the kind of worldwide travel, the kind of electronic information base, the kind of ways we now relate to each other. And, in fact, we've squeezed it out. Most malls don't let you campaign. Yet malls are where people go. So you think about it. We literally don't know today how to re-integrate ourselves as citizens in the electronic age. And we have to literally invent that. And I don't have very many good answers. We are going to spend all Fall working on this problem. And I think it may take us four years to find a solution. And we love the artist. But just start with the notion, as you design your own campaign, the geographic precinct matters, the rolldex matters more. The rolldex will beat the precinct. And if you find it, you

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RAC (cont.)

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can find a way to have every one of your volunteers call everybody whose phone number they have, even if they weren't in the right precinct. The net human effect of that would be unbelievable. And we don't know today how to structure and how to build politics and citizenship in the twenty-first century.

Exhibit 56

EXHIBIT 57



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July 21, 1993

Mr. John Gartland
Amway Corporation
214 Massachusetts Ave NE
Suite 210
Washington, DC 20002

Dear John:

Newt Gingrich asked me to send you some background information on the class he is teaching this Fall at Kennesaw State College, "Renewing American Civilization."

The goal of this project is simple: To train, by April 1996, 200,000+ citizens into a model for replacing the welfare state and reforming our government.

The reality is that the current system will not be with us forever -- it will be replaced. The question is how quickly that will happen -- i.e. how quickly it is possible to get a citizens' movement in place, ready to make the needed changes.

Your support for Newt and his efforts over the years has meant a lot to him, and we both hope that Amway, or perhaps one of its associated foundations, will join the several major foundations and corporations who have already committed their support to this project. The enclosed materials provide a fair amount of information, but I'll call sometime in the next week or so to follow-up and answer any questions. In the meantime, I can be reached in Washington at 202/484-2312.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey A. Eisenach

Enclosures

c: Tim Mescon, Dean, School of Business Administration

P.S. Your brother Pat is working with us on this project down in Georgia, networking with the Chamber, etc.

Exhibit 57

EXHIBIT 58

End SATs 1 April 1996

2000 plus activists have a common language, general vision of
 a new organization, shared set of general principles, collective
 political actions (legislative, executive, private sector),

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Commonsense development with a shared
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 virtually all Republican incumbents and candidates share the role
 and goals in a worst case there is a substantial majority teaching them to
 and goals in a worst case there is a substantial majority teaching them to
 and goals in a worst case there is a substantial majority teaching them to

and the most anti-establishment approach (the incumbent) and the common goals, and
 their strategy and vision to govern (the incumbent) and support the vision goals, and
 many (ideally most) of our outside allies understand and support and
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 support. There is a network of intellectuals and academics who support and

analysis and movement towards a distinct minority in the
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 Most reports understand the language ideas and analysis and a significant minority

There is a track record of legislation introduced, sponsored, and voted in Congress and the
 There is a track record of legislation introduced, sponsored, and voted in Congress and the

Exhibit 58

End STATE-24. 1 1996
Renewing America

The Republican platform will clearly be shaped by the vision, language, goals and analysis of renewing America.

Virtually all the Republican Presidential candidates broadly agree on the above. There are a lot of activists who want to work and contribute and who are actively seeking candidates, institutions, and activities to support.

The Clinton Administration and the Democratic Party are being redefined as the least in part against the vision, principles and goals of renewing America and this is virtually universal agreement that the welfare state has failed as a system. There is a cadre of potential administration opposition who understand how to run America and are committed for implementing that process if we win.

There are a group of specific replacement proposals which can be clearly thought out and implemented. The popular language has been supporting the public and significant grassroots activist organizations backing them and would be our agenda for the first 100 days of 1997.

There is a decentralized (movement) cadre of public figures who combine intellectual and political skills to shape arguments on philosophy, principles, goals and vision with the political-intellectual leadership/policyists of the left.

Exhibit 58

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Course Review Course Review Course Review Course

FRANKLIN, extremely locally coordinated movement

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Exhibit 5

[illegible]

END STATE -1 April 1996

200,000 plus activists have a common language, general vision of renewing America, shared set & general principles, collect of proposed actions (legislative, executive, private sector), Commitment to replace the welfare state

Virtually all Republican incumbents and candidates have the common language and goals (in a worst case there is a substantial majority that do and the most enthusiastic aggressive and/or risktaking and teaching them to their staffs and using them to govern (if incumbents) and to campaign.

Many (ideally most) of our outside allies understand and support the visionary goals, and language.

There is a network of intellectuals and academics who support and analysis to the movement (however they are a distinct minority in academia) supply ideas and

Most reporters understand the language ideas and analysis and a significant minority agree and use them

There is a track record of legislation introduced, speeches made, and votes in Congress and the states as well as actions by some Governors, mayors, county commissioners, etc) attempting (to?) translate rhetoric into reality

END STATE -2 April 1996

Renewing America

the Republican platform will clearly be shaped by the vision, language, goals and analysis of renewing America.

Virtually all the Republican Presidential candidates broadly agree on the above.

There are a lot of activists who want to work and contribute and who are actively seeking candidates, institutions, and activities to support

The Clinton Administration and the Democratic Party are being measured at least in part against the vision, principles and goals of renewing America and there is virtually universal agreement that the welfare state has failed as a system.

There is a cadre of potential administration appointees who understand how to renew America and are committed to implementing that process if we win

There are a core group of specific replacement proposals which can clearly explain in popular language, have broad support among the public and significant grassroots activist organizations backing them and would be our agenda for the First 100 days of 1997.

There is a decentralized (movement) cadre of public figures who combine intellectual and political skills to engage the arguments on philosophy, principles, goals and vision with the political-intellectual defenders/apologists of the left.

END STATE APRIL 1996 (?) [along right side of paper]

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		N			
S-N	D93	J-M 94	A-----D-94	J-M 95	A-----D95
Course	Review	Course	Review and	Course	Review and
	Process		Improve		Improve

Freestanding, extremely loosely coordinated Movement of activists seeking to Renew America

Freestanding, extremely loosely coordinated Movement

Unknownable For now, fill in as understood

House GOP Whip Organization
Progress and Freedom Foundation including Conservative TV Show PFF
GOPAC
FONG
Newt Speeches - visits - Meetings - Special Orders

EXHIBIT 59

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASSROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE


400 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
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20001
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NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

PFF
37584

February 1, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR NEWT GINGRICH

FROM: Jeff Eisenach
Executive Director 

SUBJECT: 1993 Political Program

Per your request, this memorandum codifies our recent conversations concerning GOPAC's political program for 1993. As we have discussed, our plans fall into five categories:

- 1) Curriculum Update and Expansion -- virtually complete re-working of the existing GOPAC training curriculum and expansion of the curriculum to new areas (e.g. Quality).
- 2) "Torv (Franchise) Model" R&D -- identification of "marginal" districts to be targeted for a permanent "seven-days-a-week, 52-weeks-a-year" presence and initial development of alternative models for establishing such a presence.
- 3) Off-Year State Legislative Races (New Jersey, Virginia) -- focussed training, strategy and message development and contributions (cash and in-kind) in these "off-year" states where GOPAC's presence has made a big difference in recent years.
- 4) Message Development "Renewing American Civilization" -- focus group project designed to test and improve the "Renewing American Civilization" message in preparation for its use in 1993 legislative campaigns and 1994 Congressional races.
- 5) Ongoing Political Activities -- on-site training seminars, audio training tapes and targeted teleconference training, plus initial recruiting and training for 1994 Congressional candidates, etc.

Draft one-page descriptions of each of these major program elements are attached.

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper



Exhibit 59

As you review the attached one-pagers, keep in mind that they are designed on the basis of several key decisions made in recent weeks, which in turn flowed out of input received at the Charter Meeting and in subsequent conversations with numerous Charter Members. Specifically, we have concluded:

- o While both "message" and "mechanism" are important, GOPAC's comparative advantage lies in developing new ideas -- i.e. in the "message" part of the equation. GOPAC will thus continue to focus its efforts on developing and communicating our values in a way voters can understand and support.
- o GOPAC will remain an "independent" organization, without formal ties to the RNC or other Republican committees, so as to be able to continue to serve effectively as the "Bell Labs" of the Republican Party -- i.e. GOPAC will continue to have the freedom to take risks and try new ideas.
- o GOPAC has emerged as the premier training organization in the Republican Party by virtue of a very strong program, and continues to have a comparative advantage in offering political training programs focussed on ideas, messages and strategies. Thus, GOPAC should remain active in political training and take the necessary steps to ensure the "product" continues to be of the highest possible quality.
- o GOPAC will continue to rely primarily on the Charter Program for its funding, and will operate on a total budget of roughly \$2.5 million for calendar 1993.
- o GOPAC's role in Congressional elections in 1992 was important in the winning campaigns of at least two dozen, and perhaps as many as 40, of the 47 members of the 1992 freshman class. Thus, GOPAC should remain involved in helping to recruit, train and support Republican challenger campaigns.
- o While the "Gavel Club" raised substantial funds for House challengers, the program was in many ways poorly structured and should either be eliminated or significantly restructured.
- o GOPAC will continue to give cash to candidates at the state and local level, but cash to candidates is not GOPAC's main mission. Our experience in the 1991-1992 cycle provided still more evidence that GOPAC's "teach them to fish" model is the most effective means of providing value to candidates. Thus, we will continue to focus on training, networking and providing in-kind contributions, with cash contributions serving in part to leverage the effectiveness of our other activities.

Attachments

Exhibit 59

CURRICULUM UPDATE AND EXPANSIONBackground

Since GOPAC first launched its on-site training program in 1987, we have trained well over 10,000 candidates in nearly every state in the union. The GOPAC curriculum continues to receive rave reviews, and very few weeks go by when we do not receive a request for us to provide an on-site seminar. This high demand for our product is strong evidence that it continues to be very useful to Republican candidates.

The on-site seminar curriculum currently consists of two core modules: The "Core Doctrine" module ("Vision, Strategies, Projects, Tactics," "Listen, Learn, Help, Lead," "Wedges, Magnets, Shields, Turf," etc.) and the "Flying Upside Down" module (based on Joe Gaylord's landmark book, now in its second edition). Both elements exist in video tape, audio tape and written outline formats, with the video tape and written outline formats directly supporting the seminars.

1993 Objectives

1. Update and Expand Core Doctrine Module: The current edition of the "Core Doctrine" module was produced in May 1992 and is dated by the election. At a minimum, the underlying principles need to be applied to the current political situation, the video needs to be re-shot and the written outline needs to be re-written to correspond to the new presentation. An audio tape will also be produced based on the new video tape, both for mailing to the farm team and to be given to participants in on-site seminars as post-training reinforcement. We should also produce a written "doctrine manual" similar to the book version of Flying Upside Down. This project should be completed by early Summer.

2. Re-introduce the "We Are a Majority" Module: The "We Are a Majority" Module, which explained the core differences between us and the Left and the reasons why our side is in the majority in each area, was one of the major elements of our program through 1989, at which point elements of this module became dated (e.g. our differences with the Left in our understanding of the Soviet Union). By updating and re-introducing this module, we will fill a burning need within the Republican Party to be reminded of the principles which unite us against the agenda of the Left. This project should be completed by mid-late Summer.

3. Build and Test a "Quality" Module: Thanks to Newt's relationship with Dr. W. Edwards Deming and to the efforts of several GOPAC Charter Members to expose GOPAC staff to core principles of Quality, we believe we now have the understanding to take a first cut at teaching Quality to Republican organizations and campaigns. This will be an inherently experimental effort, but the potential payoff is tremendous. Initial work on this project is underway, and the objective is to have a test product by late Summer or early Fall.

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Attachment Two

"TORY (FRANCHISE) MODEL" R&DBackground

The notion of building a permanent presence in a set of "marginal" Congressional districts has been around for many years, most recently in discussions of creating "Franchise" districts and/or adapting the British Tory Party's model of permanent campaigns. There are three major reasons to believe this is a good time to move the concept from the "idea" to the "test" phase: (1) GOPAC's work with House challengers in 1992 resulted in development of very strong relationships with Republican leaders in dozens of Congressional districts; (2) During 1992, we undertook a fairly intensive study of the British Tory Party's experience with a similar model, and we have established a good working relationships with senior Tory Party officials who are willing to work with us to apply what they know to the American environment; and (3) Congressional districts are now "set" through 2000 -- i.e. we now have eight years, and four elections, to work on targeted districts without worrying that district lines will be withdrawn.

1993 Objectives

1. Identify "Marginal" Districts: In 1992, we identified 176 Congressional districts which were either "open seats" or held by Democratic incumbents. Republicans were elected in 45 of these 176 districts, leaving 131 districts where our initial analysis suggests Republicans should be electable. Our first task this Spring is to review that initial analysis (based especially on 1992 results) and produce a revised list of 100-150 marginal districts Republicans should target during the 1990s. We should have this completed by April 15 if not before.

2. Developing a Doctrine for "Franchise" Districts: Through various efforts over the past several years, we have already done a significant amount of research into how a "franchise" model would work and even tested several elements that will no doubt be included in a final doctrine manual. Over the next few months, we need to (a) formally study the British model and analyze which elements might be adapted to U.S. campaigns, (b) talk with potential "franchisees" (i.e. customers) about what they need and (c) take a first cut at actually writing down the key elements of a franchise district doctrine (e.g. training, funding, recruiting, etc.). We should have a first cut of this manual completed by mid-late Summer.

3. Identify 1994 Test Districts: We have had exploratory conversations with a dozen or more Republican leaders around the country, including several Charter Members, who are prepared to devote time and energy to establishing permanent campaigns in Congressional districts where they live. From among these franchise candidates, and others we may identify over the next few months, we need to select 6-12 Test Districts in which to test the franchise model doctrine. This selection -- including the development of explicit franchise agreements with district leaders -- should be complete by November 1993.

Exhibit 59

OFF-YEAR STATE LEGISLATIVE RACESBackground

Two states, New Jersey and Virginia, will be holding state-wide elections for state legislature this year. Beginning in 1989, GOPAC has played significant roles in both states, providing training, focus group and other research, strategic advice, in-kind contributions (e.g. camera-ready ads) and cash contributions. Our theory has been, and remains, that these off-year states provide a unique opportunity to "market test" our "on-year" political programs before rolling them out nationwide. However, we have also been active for the much simpler reason of helping to elect Republicans -- and on this score, our efforts have been very successful. Legislative leaders in both states give GOPAC significant credit for the major gains they made in 1991, and they are enthusiastic about having GOPAC's help again. It is important to remember that gubernatorial races with national implications (Florio in New Jersey and the Wilder vacancy in Virginia) are on the ballots in both states.

1993 Objectives

1. Recruiting and Training State Legislative Candidates: We have contacted state legislative leaders and offered to assist with candidate recruiting in both New Jersey and Virginia, and we expect that Newt will be asked to assist personally in persuading some of the stronger potential candidates to run. In addition, we are currently working to schedule major training-seminars in both New Jersey and Virginia for June/July 1993, and will use these seminars to "roll out" the new GOPAC training curriculum now under development. In addition, we are developing a teleconference training curriculum for both states which we expect to roll out in late Summer. (Recall that we first tested the teleconference training program, which was so successful in 1992, with state legislative candidates in New Jersey and Virginia in 1991.)

2. Research and Strategic Consultation: As in 1991, we will work directly with the Republican leaders in New Jersey and Virginia to determine how GOPAC can best meet their needs for research and strategic consultation at both the candidate-specific and the state-wide party level. Discussions with state leaders are already underway; specifics projects will be developed over the course of the next several months.

3. In-Kind and Cash Contributions: GOPAC's most effective program in 1991 was the "Wilder Index" ad campaign we developed for Virginia state legislative candidates. In September, we mailed camera-ready art, tailored specifically to each campaign, to every Republican challenger. The ads demonstrated that the Democratic incumbent they were running against had voted with Governor Wilder (the most unpopular political figure in the state at that point) on a large proportion of key votes. As we survey the situation in New Jersey and Virginia this year, we will be looking for similar opportunities. Of course, we will also be evaluating state legislative candidates for possible cash contributions, and tentatively expect to contribute \$25,000 or thereabouts in each of the two states.

Exhibit 59

MESSAGE DEVELOPMENT/RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATIONBackground

In the Spring of 1990, GOPAC undertook a series of 18 focus groups designed to better understand the attitudes of young, middle-class Americans. It was the largest and most sophisticated focus group project undertaken by the Republican Party for more than a decade. More importantly, it allowed us to understand both the level of and the causes of fear, resentment and frustration among middle-class Americans (i.e. to anticipate the strength of the anti-incumbency movement, the term limits movement and the Perot candidacy, among other things), to develop appropriate political messages and strategies, and, through our training programs, to improve the campaigns of literally thousands of Republican candidates. Given the dramatic change in the political landscape since 1990, it seems appropriate that we should consider undertaking a research project designed to help us better understand how our values, principles and policies can best be communicated to voters, including specifically testing the "Renewing American Civilization" message Newt is in the process of developing.

1993 Objectives

1. Develop Research Agenda: The first step in this project is to state clearly what we hope to learn -- about values, principles, issues, policies, etc. Newt's "Renewing American Civilization" speech and associated materials have been forwarded to the focus group design team we have worked with in the past (Market Strategies, Inc.), and we look forward to having an initial research agenda back from them by mid-Spring.
2. Develop Test Protocol: Once we have talked through the research agenda, we will begin working with Market Strategies to design a specific research protocol, which will include details on the number of focus groups to be conducted, sites, participant profiles and a discussion outline. This step should be complete by late Spring or early Summer.
3. Collect Data/Report/Follow-Up: Our objective is to be "in the field" sometime this Summer (probably over the course of several weeks), and to have written results back in by September 15. The primary means of dissemination (e.g. incorporation into training program, sending reports to Republican leaders, press briefings, etc.) will be decided over the course of the next several months.

ONGOING POLITICAL ACTIVITIESBackground

A significant part of GOPAC's political program involves either (a) ongoing "routine" activities and (b) taking advantage of targets of opportunity. These include: conducting on-site training seminars for activists, potential candidates and incumbents; producing and mailing audio training tapes; serving as a networking point for Republicans to share new ideas; and, participating in special elections (both state and local and Congressional).

Specific 1993 Objectives

1. On-Site Training Seminars: We are currently working to schedule roughly two dozen on-site training seminars during 1993. In addition to the states with off-year state legislative races, we expect to be active in Mississippi (where there is an important race for governor and where GOPAC has been active in the past) and in several other states (e.g. Texas, Pennsylvania, California) where GOPAC training has been well-received in the past.
2. Audio Training Tapes: We have planned and budgeted for six audio training tapes to be mailed during 1993, including two or three tapes including our updated training curriculum. At present, we are working on updating the mailing list to reflect results of 1992 state and local races and are preparing to mail a customer satisfaction/needs survey to the entire farm team list.
3. Wisconsin Support: In the category of "targets of opportunity," there are a series of special elections for the State Senate in Wisconsin coming up this Spring -- the outcomes of which will determine control of the Senate. We are currently working to schedule trips for Newt to make appearances on behalf of the Republican candidates in these races.

Exhibit 59

EXHIBIT 60

Newt Gingrich

PFF
37589General Chairman
GOPAC

February 3, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR GOPAC CHARTER MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

FROM: Newt Gingrich
General Chairman

SUBJECT: January 22-23 Special Meeting

On January 22-23, GOPAC held a special meeting here in Washington to discuss the current political situation and our plans for 1993 and beyond. Roughly 50 Charter Members and spouses attended, and the input we received has had a significant impact on what we are doing at every level.

First, let me say to those who attended the sessions on Friday evening and Saturday morning that I am forever in your debt for helping me better understand our message and our mission in the very broadest sense. The first enclosure in this package, the notes from my speech to the National Review Institute's "Conservative Summit" the afternoon of January 23, represents a fairly dramatic improvement (or so I've been told) in my understanding of what we are about, and our sessions Friday evening and Saturday morning made the difference. (The second enclosure to this memo is the two-page outline I am currently using as a handout to explain the "Renewing American Civilization" theme. I would deeply appreciate it if you would take a few minutes to read it through and give me any ideas or criticisms you have, either in writing or by calling Laura Stotz or Jeff Eisenach at GOPAC.)

Second, several Charter Members asked that we provide summaries of the main points made by speakers at our afternoon briefings on Friday, January 23. One-page summaries are enclosed, and audio tapes of all of the presentations are available. Call Jennie Plona, at 202/484-2232, if you would like copies of the tapes.

Third, I was extraordinarily pleased both by the turnout and by the continued support expressed by our Members for the GOPAC program. As we discussed last weekend, GOPAC's core mission -- to provide the ideas and the message for Republicans to win at the grass roots -- is now more important than ever, and we have important plans for 1993 and for the 1993-1994 cycle. The final enclosure is a memorandum from Jeff Eisenach outlining our 1993 program, which I encourage you to review carefully and, again, let me know what you think.

Your ongoing support for GOPAC's program means a great deal to me. Please keep in touch and let me know what you think we ought to be doing to create a better America and a stronger Republican Party.

Enclosures

Exhibit 60

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Congressman Newt Gingrich
Notes for Remarks
National Review Institute
Washington, D.C.
January 23, 1993

Thank you Terry Considine. Let me congratulate Gay Gaines, John O'Sullivan and the National Review Institute.

In January 1977, 16 years ago, there were two events in Washington with major speakers:

- o one was Jimmy Carter's inaugural
- o one was Ronald Reagan's speech to a conservative conference.

In history it is Reagan's address that will be seen as decisive and Carter's inaugural will be seen as the aberration.

Similarly we must avoid being too focused on Clinton and the Democrats.

Now, 16 years later, here we are again.

To quote FDR, "our generation has a rendezvous with destiny."

In 1940, the greatest threat to freedom was Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. The American people rose to the challenge and freedom won.

In 1946, the greatest threat to freedom was the Soviet Empire. The American people rose to the challenge and for nearly half a century we contained the Soviet Empire until it collapsed. My dad spent years serving in the U.S. Army to protect and preserve freedom. It worked.

Now in 1993 the greatest threat to freedom is the decay of American civilization.

The decay of American civilization. Among liberal elites would be a horrifying assertion. It has several politically incorrect assumptions.

First, "decay of American civilization" asserts there is an American civilization. We are more open, more future oriented, more inclined toward technology and entrepreneurialism and less hierarchical, we are optimistic and integrationist. From Colin Powell to Pat Saiki, from Gary Franks to Henry Bonilla, from Ileana Ros-Lehtinen to Louis Sullivan, America is the most universal, most integrationist, most opportunity oriented society offering more hope to more people than any society in the history of the world.

Second, "decay of American civilization" asserts that we can make a distinction

Exhibit 60

between decay and progress. Clinton tried to describe change as our friend in his inaugural, but he couldn't use the word progress because it is banished from the liberal lexicon.

We can make moral judgements. Learning is progress. Illiteracy is decay. Wellness is progress. Drug addiction is decay. Safe streets is progress. Violent crime is decay.

Lastly, by asserting American civilization matters we reject multiculturalism's claim to be the situation ethics of historic judgements. Bosnia, Somalia and Iraq are grim reminders that humans can be vicious, brutal and savage to each other. Anacostia in Washington, Techwood in Atlanta and East L.A. are reminders that Americans can return to barbaric behaviors and vicious brutality with frightening speed.

We must assert unequivocally and decisively that every American must learn thoroughly the principles, practices and history of American civilization. Only then can we insure the continued existence of a free society.

Once we have mastered the principles and practices of American civilization we should study other civilizations. As a Ph.D in European history, I favor studying other cultures. But Other-culturism is very different from multiculturalism because we start with the belief that the American civilization is the most powerful creator of prosperity, freedom, and safety in human history and must be studied first.

So our generation's rendezvous with history is to launch a movement to renew American civilization.

We must insist that to be American is to be free, productive and safe.

We must insist that American civilization means freedom, productivity, and safety for all Americans.

Today we are failing to meet these standards both for the individual and for our country.

Renewing American civilization is the central challenge of the rest of our lives.

Fortunately for us, most Americans want to sustain and renew American civilization.

As Everett Carl Ladd noted recently only 22% of the 1992 voters favored expanding government while 68% favored restraint in government.

In an Atlanta Constitution poll last year, when asked "Do you believe all welfare recipients should be required to work, including women with young children?" 81% of southern blacks said yes while only 11% said no.

Exhibit 60

In New York now we are seeing family and neighborhood gangs rebel against the government's efforts to brainwash their children against their own values. These anti-brainwashing rebels will be to the 1990's what the anti-busing rebels were in the 1960's and 1970's.

So we have a vast majority in favor of renewing American civilization .

We also have the advantage of standing on the shoulders of Buckley, Goldwater and Reagan.

We are far more numerous and experienced than we were in 1960 or 1976.

We are ready to launch a 21st century conservatism that will renew American civilization, transform America from a welfare state into an opportunity society and create a conservative governing majority.

There are five pillars of American civilization. If we systematically study them and use them to transform government and the law we can offer a better lifestyle with a higher standard of living at lower cost and with greater under a longer standard of living at lower cost and with greater freedom for virtually all Americans except bureaucrats, trial lawyers, liberal academics, lobbyists and the government employee unions.

These five pillars actually will increase productivity and services. They allow us to break out of the welfare state dilemma of more taxes or less government.

In fact they can create progress and replace decay. The five pillars are quality, technological advance, entrepreneurial free enterprise, principles of American civilization and psychological strength.

First, we must master the profound knowledge of quality as taught by Edwards Deming. Quality is a transformational set of principles and habits that are reshaping many companies and can reshape the entire country.

Second we must again favor technological advances. Desert Storm was proof technology matters. In most of our history America has been the most technology-improving society in history. Increasingly, bureaucracy, litigation, taxation, attitudes and professional guilds have been weakening, delaying and burdening technological advance. Yet technology can dramatically help improve the quality and availability, and lower the cost, of health, learning, bureaucracy and virtually every aspect of American life.

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise is an attitude, a way of life and a system of productivity. In most areas the development of entrepreneurship increases wealth and productivity. For poor minorities, entrepreneurship in small business is the key to future wealth. For women, entrepreneurship is the most powerful way to break the glass ceiling.

Exhibit 60

If you own it you can change it. In government, the entrepreneurial approach through decentralization, privatization, and a focus on outcomes instead of inputs can lead to a dramatic decline in cost and increase in productivity. In services, entrepreneurship will consistently beat bureaucracy. Entrepreneurial health care could lower costs and create better health for less.

Fourth, the principles of American civilization must be learned and practiced if we are to remain the freest, most prosperous and most integrated society in history. We have daily reminders both at home and abroad that civilization requires learning, practicing and reinforcing. The work ethic, male responsibility for their children, intense efforts to protect the innocent and control the criminal, patriotism, the practices of self government, all of these steps are vital. They can be summarized in one test we can apply to every prepared policy:

Does it help people be more responsible, productive and safe so they can be prosperous and free so they can pursue happiness? If the answer is "yes," it is a constructive proposal. If "no," it is a destructive proposal. Note that American civilization offers the opportunity to pursue happiness but that no secular state can provide happiness. Note also that prosperity and freedom are products of responsibility, productivity and safety. Civilization matters and we must renew it.

Fifth, and finally, we must emphasize psychological strength. There is no substitute for courage, hard work, persistence, discipline and integrity. In fact the poor need psychological strength even more than the rich.

Everything else will fail if we fail to inculcate, encourage and reinforce psychological strength.

We face the challenge of translating these five pillars of the 21st century American civilization into reality.

Reagan taught us the virtue of focusing narrowly and with great discipline on no more than three big goals at a time. Clinton's bad ideas will force us to spend some time opposing destructive proposals that will increase the decay. However, we must vigorously discipline ourselves to spend no more than 25% of our time on stopping the Left.

The more important 75% of our time should be spent applying the 5 pillars of quality, technology, entrepreneurship, American principles and psychological strength to just three big topics.

If we will develop solutions for (1) economic growth with the deficit as a subset, (2) health and (3) saving the inner city we will decisively trump the left. At that point either Clinton will adopt our solutions or the country will fire the president who subsidizes decay and blocks progress.

Exhibit 60

A movement that offers solutions on economic growth, health and the inner city will then earn the right to work on other areas.

We must renew American civilization by studying these principles, networking success stories, applying these success stories to develop programs that will lead to dramatic progress, and then communicating these principles and these opportunities so the American people have a clear choice between progress, renewal, prosperity, safety and freedom within America civilization versus decay, decline, economic weakness, violent crime and bureaucratic dominance led by a multicultural elite.

Given that choice, our movement for renewing American civilization will not just win the White House in 1996, we will elect people at all levels dedicated to constructive proposals.

The Nazis lost to freedom. The Soviet Empire lost to freedom. With our courage and our persistence we can ensure that the decay of the welfare state will lose to freedom. That is what is at stake.

Exhibit 60

D-R-A-F-T

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

I. THERE IS AN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

1. American civilization is descended from but different than Western civilization. We are more future oriented, more optimistic, more economically, socially, and geographically mobile, and we are far more effective at acculturating and integrating people. We are the most successful melting pot in history.

2. American civilization is by definition a set of principles, practices, habits, and a historic memory that teaches us how to be American and why we are different from other civilizations. It requires time, study, and, effort to learn to be an American. That is an acculturation process whether you are born in the USA and learn it from childhood or you are born outside the country and learn it after you immigrate.

3. American civilization is clearly decaying.

4. The future of freedom depends on a healthy, dynamic, economically expansive America. No other country is big enough, economically powerful enough or racially diverse enough to lead the planet. Bosnia, Somalia and Iraq are grim warnings of our children's and grandchildren's future if American civilization continues to decay.

5. Therefore, the most important single mission of our lifetime is to renew American civilization. We need a movement of citizens as committed to freedom through American renewal as our grandparent's were to defeating the Nazis and Imperial Japan and our parents were to containing the Soviet Empire. Only a movement to renew American civilization can be effective in meeting the challenge of our current decay.

II. THE FIVE PILLARS OF 21ST CENTURY DEMOCRACY

The five key components of a dynamic, growing, healthy America are:

1. Quality as defined by Edward Deming's concept of profound knowledge;
2. Technological Advances;
3. Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise;
4. The Principles of American Civilization;
5. Psychological Strength; (courage, hard work, perseverance, discipline, integrity).

Exhibit 60

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The key question is simply: Does a proposed policy help people become more responsible, more productive, and more safe so they can be prosperous and free, so they can pursue happiness? If the answer is yes, then that proposed policy is constructive. If the answer is no, then it is destructive.

III. THREE AREAS TO DEVELOP RENEWAL

Following the Reagan principle of focusing on a few areas at a time there are three vital areas that should be the focus of our efforts to renew American civilization. If we can achieve real progress on the first three, people will be eager to let us take on three more areas. The first three are:

1. Economic growth including deficit reduction and improved incentives for growth;
2. Health including preventive care, wellness, replacing bureaucratic healthcare with entrepreneurial healthcare, and reestablishing genuine consumer information responsibility, control, and information;
3. Saving the inner city by applying the five pillars of freedom to the legitimate needs and concerns of inner city Americans;

IV. THE THREE ADVANTAGES OF AN ESTABLISHED POWER STRUCTURE

The liberals have three great advantages which were developed by Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal Democrats and which have helped them stay in power despite their failure to win the White House in five of the six elections between 1968 and 1988. Despite the American people's consistent rejection of liberalism, the Republicans were unable to duplicate or overcome the advantages of a decaying but entrenched establishment. Only in 1979 to 1981 at the height of Carter's collapse and the first wave of the Reagan Revolution did Republicans come close to a breakthrough. The advantages are:

1. A clear coherent and understood vision and language which establishes moral dominance and easy argumentation;
2. A network of powerful institutions such as the big city machines, the labor unions, and the leftwing activist groups (including trial lawyers and Gays), whose collective weight dwarfs the more narrow base and resources of the competitor;
3. A system for training and developing professionals whose doctrine of power and politics is simply more effective and more widely understood than the opposition party.

It is these advantages we will have to overcome to truly renew American Civilization.

Exhibit 60

EXHIBIT 61

1993 GOPAC POLITICAL PROGRAM

April 26, 1993

SUMMARY STATUS REPORT

<u>Project Line</u>	<u>Status</u>
<u>Curriculum Update and Expansion</u> -- virtually complete re-working of the existing GOPAC training curriculum and expansion of the curriculum to new areas (e.g. Quality).	Taping of new training tapes scheduled for June 5 training session at Virginia Republican Convention; post production complete and materials ready for use by July 1.
<u>"Torv (Franchise) Model" R&D</u> -- identification of "marginal" districts to be targeted for a permanent "seven-days-a-week, 52-weeks-a-year" presence and initial development of alternative models for establishing such a presence.	Planning session held on April 24 to discuss feasibility of various approaches and recruit possible "franchisees" for 1993-1994 test program.
<u>Off-Year State Legislative Races (New Jersey, Virginia)</u> -- focussed training, strategy and message development and contributions (cash and in-kind) in these "off-year" states where GOPAC's presence has made a big difference in recent years.	Newt speaking at and teaching training seminar for candidates at Virginia Republican Convention; discussions underway with New Jersey party to schedule training; "scouting" underway to identify target races in both states.
<u>Message Development/"Renewing American Civilization"</u> -- focus group project designed to test and improve the "Renewing American Civilization" message in preparation for its use in 1993 legislative campaigns and 1994 Congressional races.	April Charter Meeting breakout sessions designed to present and improve core elements of the message; focus groups to be scheduled in Summer/early Fall 1993.
<u>Ongoing Political Activities</u> -- on-site training seminars, audio training tapes and targeted teleconference training, plus initial recruiting and training for 1994 Congressional candidates, etc.	First 1993 tape to drop in June with training modules on Renewing American Civilization and health care. Teleconference "train the parties" program underway.

Exhibit 61

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